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YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Clifford's Disclosures on Viet Nam

Should Nixon Change Military Advisers?

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The apologia of Clark M. Clifford published in the July issue of *Foreign Affairs* magazine under the title "A Viet Nam Appraisal" offers fascinating fare for observers of the national scene. He does not tell all, but he surely reveals more than he intended. He recounts the transformation of Clark Clifford from hawk to dove.

The former secretary of defense is a man of many talents. As a young lawyer he had been counsel and close adviser to President Truman. During the Eisenhower years he established a successful law practice. With the return of the Democrats to power, be became an influential adviser to the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations. On March 1, 1968, he became secretary of defense. His suave political presence has been in service to the Democratic party and American industry for 30 years.

As a loyal member of the Johnson entourage, Clifford had accepted the rationale of the President's war policy. Late in 1967 he undertook jointly with Gen. Maxwell Taylor a special mission to Viet Nam and to our Asian allies with a view to increasing allied participation in combat operations. Clifford was discouraged to find our allies supporting the war, but unwilling to increase their combat participation.

The reluctance of our allies influenced Clifford to question the going justification of our war policy. He could not understand that our allies were naturally opposed to expending their youth in a war of attrition which the United States did not want to win. Allied spokesmen were too polite to criticize U.S. policy as long as the United States was paying the bill. Mr. Clifford concluded that world conditions had changed!

Secretary Clifford took office soon after the Tet offiensive of 1968 which so surprised and taxed allied military forces in South Viet Nam. Gen. Earle Wheeler, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had returned from Saigon with

Generals Maxwell Taylor (left) and Earle Wheeler apparently accepted without complaint President Johnson's handcuffing restrictions on the Viet Nam war's conduct. Why, then, Gen. Lane wonders, does President Nixon keep listening to the same bad military advice?

a request for 200,000 additional troops. A special task force chaired by Secretary Clifford set to work to plan the force increase. The group included Secretaries Rusk, Fowler, Katzenbach and Nitze; CIA Director Helms; Rostow of the White House staff; and Generals Taylor and Wheeler.

It appeared that the proposed troop increase would require a reserve call-up; possibly wage and price controls and other distasteful measures. But Clifford could get no assurance that even these measures would end the war. He asked the questions which a good lawyer should ask. What is our goal? How do we get there? What will these measures accomplish?

Clifford received vague and unsatisfactory answers to his inquiries. No one could give any assurance that the troop increase would achieve specific results, not even that the situation would be improved when the troop increase was made.

"When I asked for a presentation of the military plan for attaining victory in Viet Nam," he writes, "I was told that there was no plan for victory in the historic American sense. Why not? Because our forces were operating under three major political restrictions: The President had forbidden the invasion of North Viet Nam because this could trigger the mutual assistance pact between North Viet Nam and China; the President had forbidden the mining of the harbor at Haiphong, the principal port through which the north received military supplies, because a Soviet vessel might be sunk; the President had forbidden our forces to pursue the enemy into Laos and Cambodia, for to do so would spread the war, politically and geographically, with no discernible advantage.

"These and other restrictions which precluded an all-out, no-holds-barred military effort were wisely designed to prevent our being drawn into a larger war. We had no inclination to recommend to the President their cancellation."

There it is: government in paralysis! How shocking it is to learn that in that brilliant company, no one comprehended that the presidential restrictions spelled defeat. There was no one to demand that the rules of war be changed.

The presidential restrictions may have been intended to avoid being drawn into a larger war, but they were not designed to that purpose. Rather they assured conditions necessary for the success of the Soviet-backed "war of liberation."

It is naive to suppose that Red China would risk attack by U.S. air power rather than have Ho Chi Minh cease his attacks on South Viet Nam. And if the Soviet Union chose to enter a mined harbor, why should the United States be concerned about the consequences? Could no one see a discernible advantage in entering Laos and Cambodia to defeat the enemy and end the war?

Secretary Clifford and his company embraced without question these basic errors of war policy and sought other resolution of the conflict. There is no other solution. The substitute for victory is defeat.

Secretary Clifford reached some strange conclusions. People do when they refuse to face up to the truth. "I was convinced that the military course we were pursuing was not only endless, but hopeless." Right! But instead of correcting the military policy, he decided to disengage. Why? To reduce American casualties. Wouldn't South Viet Nam then be defeated? No, the increased responsibility for their own defense would be good for them.

The then-current South Viet Nam mobilization of 750,000 was equivalent to an American mobilization of nine million! Not since World War II had we borne such a burden. To suppose that South Viet Nam could then take over the U.S. combat role was preposterous. The arming and equipping of the South Viet Nam military forces was a good program too long delayed. But an American pull-out when the war was at its peak could not be explained with platitudes.

President Johnson and Clark Clifford were well aware that President Kennedy had planned in 1963 to set up a coalition government in South Viet Nam and withdraw U.S. forces. But after the Vietnamese generals threw out the Minh junta in January 1964 and condemned the Minh plan to neutralize the country, it became politically infeasible to pursue the coalition plan. President Johnson had to continue our support of the South. In 1965 he introduced U.S. combat forces to the battle to forestall North Vietnamese victory.

By 1968 the Johnson policy was in disrepute. He was engaged in a war of attrition which he seemed powerless to resolve. Casualties were mounting. Senators McCarthy and Kennedy were attacking the Johnson war policy. They talked guardedly but openly about imposing a coalition government on South Viet Nam.

Secretary Clifford has concealed this part of the story. His decision to turn combat responsibility over to South Viet Nam could be related only to the Kennedy plan for a coalition government. In his examination of war policy, his instinct to heal the divisions of the Democratic party led him to accept the pleading of Ambassador Harriman and others that coalition government would offer a face-saving formula for United States withdrawal.

What Clifford brought to the issue was a lawyer's brief which would conceal the betrayal of an ally by pretending that South Viet Nam could take over the combat role.

This is why Clifford and other Democratic critics are impatient with President Nixon. Having made the decision to pull out, they want to do the job as quickly as possible. Pull out all combat troops by the end of 1970, they say. They believe the cry to end the fighting, even at the price of sacrificing the goal for which so many have died, will please the people.

But President Nixon has not made the commitment to impose a coalition government on South Viet Nam. He seems to believe that he can build up South Viet Nam to defend itself even as South Korea is doing. Such a program would allow a gradual and controlled reduction of U.S. combat forces. It would certainly involve continuing confrontation with the Soviet Union, a prospect distasteful to the Democratic doves.

By persuading President Johnson to his thesis of withdrawal, Clifford had bridged the gap in the Democratic party. The President would withdraw from the election campaign and would start the party on a course to diminish its differences about the war. Ambassador Harriman, chief architect of the Kennedy coalition policy, would become chief negotiator in Paris.

When, after negotiations extending from May to October, the North Vietnamese agreed to South Vietnamese participation in the Paris talks, South Viet Nam demurred at the conditions. Clark Clifford was outraged. Suddenly Saigon became responsible for the loss

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Capital Briefs

● Intimates of **George Wallace** say the former Alabama governor definitely intends to run in 1972, but stress that his strategy will be different from last year's. Whereas in 1968 Wallace put heavy emphasis on winning votes in the North, in 1972 he plans to concentrate his efforts in the South. Wallace is said to feel that if he had more vigorously campaigned below the Mason-Dixon line last year, he could have carried enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House.

● Democrat **John Melcher** won the June 24 special election in Montana's 2nd Congressional District, but the race did not turn out to be a referendum on the anti-ballistic missile controversy after all. While Melcher, running for the seat vacated by James Battin, was mildly opposed to the erection of Safeguard sites in Montana, he did not campaign on the issue and acknowledged after his victory that the ABM issue did not have a decisive effect on the outcome. Politicos stress that fundamentally Melcher "outglamorized" William S. Mather, his GOP opponent.

● Question of the week: Why has **Henry Kissinger**, Nixon's top foreign policy aide, been so chummy recently with syndicated columnist Frank Mankiewicz, one of the Kennedy family's entourage and an apologist for the New Left? Last week Mankiewicz even managed to wangle a luncheon engagement with Kissinger at the exclusive Federal City Club, with Kissinger picking up the tab for both. Why, it is being asked, should Mankiewicz, an obvious foe of the Nixon Administration, be receiving such cordial treatment, particularly when more reliable and influential columnists have been cold-shouldered by Henry?

● Several top Democrats are said to be hopping mad at their fellow Democratic senator, **Edmund Muskie**, for his frank appraisal of Teddy Kennedy. In a recent interview, Muskie said that if Kennedy does not "de-escalate and become more selective in choosing issues and visibility, he could conceivably, as a product of his immaturity and inexperience, make mistakes that could rapidly generate unfavorable reaction. . . ." The angered senators feel that these remarks will undermine Kennedy's credibility when he speaks out in the future on such important subjects as Viet Nam.

● Perhaps the most cogent assessment of why Mayor **John Lindsay** lost the Republican primary in New York has been provided by a Democrat. In his syndicated column in the Philadelphia Bulletin, former LBJ intellectual adviser John Roche noted: "I see no reason why a New York Republican had to be a 'racist' to vote against Lindsay. All he had to be was a Republican."

● When that special Republican **report on student unrest** was recently issued, insiders say that both Representatives Paul McCloskey (R.-Calif.) and Donald W. Riegle (R.-Mich.) were grumbling that more of their recommendations and findings weren't followed. Both, apparently, hoped the report—signed by 22 GOP House members who had interviewed hundreds of college students across the country—would stress that the campus convulsions were primarily due to the Viet Nam war, a conclusion not reached by their colleagues. McCloskey, further, had prepared a draft report taking Gov. Ronald Reagan to task—though Reagan was not mentioned by name—for his tough approach to law and order on the campuses.

● Do **war protestors** encourage the enemy to continue fighting and killing American boys in Viet Nam? The Associated Press reports that the Viet Cong have told their followers in South Viet Nam to "take note that important U.S. political leaders [and] great numbers of American people [are] standing up against Nixon and his policy of war." Liberation Radio, monitored in Hong Kong, broadcast that "Senate leader critics" and "public demonstration throughout the nation give voice to the U.S. people's demands that Nixon end the war." Throughout the broadcast, says the AP, the Communists implied that all the Viet Cong had to do was hold out and they would win South Viet Nam because America would quit.

● Lt. Gov. **Malcolm Wilson**, considered a Nelson Rockefeller ally, said last week that he would campaign for State Sen. John Marchi for mayor of New York. Marchi, who defeated John Lindsay for the GOP nomination last month, says Wilson will "be a tremendous asset. I'd be delighted to see him here campaigning for me." Rocky has also endorsed Marchi, but says he will not actively enter the campaign. The New York governor, however, is said to be secretly aiding Marchi behind the scenes.

● Newest brainchild of the Viet Nam war is a **nationwide "moratorium"** to shut down the country's colleges and universities next October 15. Sam Brown, a former official of the National Student Association and a key figure in the McCarthy for President drive, announced the strike plans last week in Washington. Brown said he expects support from members of the Students for a Democratic Society.

● The highly authoritative "Gallagher Presidents' Report" claims that the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Rep. Emanuel Celler (D.-N.Y.), faces a clear conflict of interest on mutual funds legislation. Celler, the logical candidate to testify before the House Commerce subcommittee on proposed reform in mutual fund management fees, himself receives an annual fee of $3,000 a year as a director of the Oppenheimer Fund.

● The Negro president of the National Baptist Convention, Dr. **Joseph H. Jackson**, has stressed his opposition to the National Council of Churches' sympathetic attitude toward James Forman's demands for reparations from white church groups for past injustices to U.S. Negroes. "I do not believe the church can follow the National Council of Churches if it follows James Forman's demands," said Jackson last week. "We accept the fellowship but not the leadership of the council."

● **Leon Panetta**, an ex-aide to Sen. Thomas Kuchel and now chief of the civil rights division in Robert Finch's shop, is "looking for a way to be fired," according to White House sources. Panetta, say insiders, has been double-crossing the President with a hard-line approach to the civil rights issue, but feels if he is ousted the liberal press will make him a modern-day martyr.

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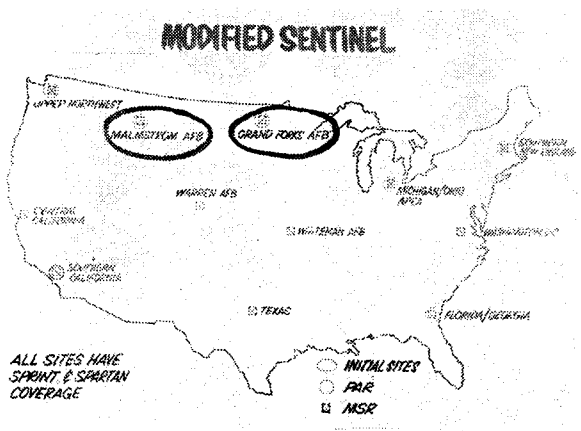
ABM: Still a Squeaker

For the first time since its introduction, President Nixon's Safeguard anti-ballistic missile program is given an even chance of passage by the mass media. The most recent UPI poll of the Senate shows an **even split of the senators on the ABM, 48 for, 48 against and 4 undecided. Should the undecideds break 2 to 2, Vice President Spiro Agnew would be in a position to cast his vote to insure passage of the program.**

White House insiders say there are probably more than four senators who have not made up their minds, but the executive branch is said to be giving special attention to Republicans George Aiken (Vt.), Margaret Chase Smith (Maine) and freshman Marlow Cook (Ky.). It also hopes to win over Democrat Mike Gravel of Alaska.

As the Senate prepares for debate on this momentous issue, the White House and its Senate supporters are expected to stress—contrary to the claims of Senators J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) and Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.)—that the Soviets are going for a "first-strike" capability; i.e., they are developing strategic weapons which are designed to wipe out the overwhelming majority of our retaliatory long-range missiles with a single, surprise blow.

Unchallenged testimony before the Senate, in fact, reveals that the Soviets—in just the past month—began to build five new SS-9 missile complexes. These powerful SS-9s, which the Russians have been constructing at a rapid rate and each of which is capable of carrying a 25-megaton payload, have only one logical military purpose: the digging out of hardened U.S. Minuteman missiles.



The circled areas show the proposed ABM sites.

Judging by the range and fallout patterns of Soviet missiles tested over the Pacific, furthermore, the U.S. intelligence community believes that the Soviets are developing weapons perfectly designed to destroy our Minuteman complexes.

If the Soviets are not going for a first-strike capability, it is argued, why are they developing these massive megaton weapons, fashioned to annihilate our retaliatory force through a first strike? And wouldn't we be wise—since we can't divine what Soviet intentions will be—to deploy an ABM system that has a chance to cope with this threat and would make all present and future Soviet leaders think twice before deciding to launch an attack against the United States?

The Administration would seem to have a powerful case, but as this historic vote comes down to the wire, the fate of the ABM still remains very much in doubt.

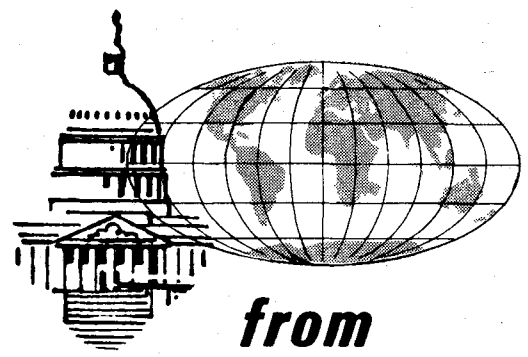
For Congress to fail to support the President at this time, it is being argued, could be catastrophic to the United States both militarily and diplomatically. The Russians, according to diplomatic sources, would look upon the defeat of the ABM as a sign that the United States is not only totally unwilling to repel Soviet aggression abroad, but is even unwilling to make the effort necessary to defend itself from an obvious threat.

As one expert put it: "The defeat of the ABM would leave the President naked and disarmed at the negotiating table. The Soviets would obviously scorn us and become emboldened to begin a fresh, aggressive course. Clearly, repudiation of the ABM would be a disaster."

Thus, once again, *Human Events* urges its readers to write their senators and congressmen on this very, very crucial issue.

• Chairman J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is trying to buck Administration nominees who support deployment of the Safeguard anti-ballistic missile system. At Fulbright's direction last week, his Foreign Relations Committee passed over Nixon's nomination of William J. Casey as a member of the General Advisory Committee of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Casey, chairman of the Citizens Committee for Peace with Security, is leading a publicity campaign for the Administration's ABM program. Fulbright claims he wants to explore "the published views" of Casey, whose committee has taken out newspaper advertisements around the nation showing that 84 per cent of Americans support the ABM. Casey, in urging citizens to write their senators and congressmen in support of the ABM, says a 10 per cent minority has been stimulating anti-ABM mail. As a result of Fulbright's opposition to Casey, whom he plans to grill this week, 14 other ACDA nominees have also been blocked from receiving appointments.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



from

Inside Washington

Liberal Demos Knife Jackson

Sen. Henry Jackson (D.-Wash.), President Nixon's first choice to be secretary of defense, is expected to face primary opposition next year from a liberal Democrat. More interesting, however, and more ominous, so far as the future of the Democratic party is concerned, is that the $250,000 war chest that is now being collected to polish Jackson off may actually come from the fund-raising activities of fellow Democratic lawmakers, including Senators Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass.), George McGovern (D.-S.D.), Harold Hughes (D.-Iowa) and Abraham Ribicoff (D.-Conn.)

JACKSON

Here is what has triggered this solid bit of speculation: The ultra-liberal Washington Democratic Council, based in Tacoma, declared its opposition to Jackson in a June 7 meeting in Seattle. The resolution of the Council, which has publicly proposed "unilateral disarmament" through the dismantling of our Minuteman missiles and nuclear submarines, took Jackson to task for keeping "alive a fearful mood of Cold War confrontation. . . ."

In plotting its campaign to dump Jackson in the primary, the WDC plans to raise $250,000 in Washington and match it from "outside sources." Ed Voris, the chief fund-raiser for the McCarthy effort in the state last year, is to head up the anti-Jackson movement.

The almost unanimous resolution condemning Jackson followed an address by Earl D. Craig Jr., who urged his audience to "find a viable Democrat to make the race" against the hawkish senator. Craig, who serves as executive director of the New Democratic Coalition, was the main speaker at the WDC conclave.

What makes this fascinating for political observers is that Jackson's liberal Democratic colleagues have been pampering and feeding the NDC with both money and prestige.

On May 24, in fact, Kennedy, McGovern and Hughes were the principal speakers at a $100-a-plate NDC dinner at the Sheraton Park Hotel in the Nation's Capital. Sponsoring the dinner were leading liberal Democrats, including Ribicoff, Theodore Sorensen, Adlai Stevenson III, Represenatives Don Edwards (Calif.), Donald Fraser (Minn.), John Conyers (Mich.), Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.) and Frank Thompson (N.J.).

Thus, liberal Democratic lawmakers, whether knowingly or not, are obviously helping to finance an organization bent on the political destruction of lifelong Democrats like Jackson, a liberal on domestic spending but hawkish in the field of military and foreign policy. (Sen. McGovern, some suspect, might even be *knowingly* back-stabbing Jackson. In a fund-raising letter signed by McGovern and mailed this June for the purpose of re-electing Democratic senators, Jackson's name is conveniently missing from the list of solons McGovern stresses he admires.)

The NDC, as *Human Events* has previously revealed, is far to the left. During the next four years it will try, in the words of Arnold Kaufman, a member of its steering committee, "to create a permanent Left in the Democratic party. And as the center of politics in this country moves left, we will move further left." Kaufman, by the way, also attended the Seattle meeting at which the WDC adopted the anti-Jackson resolution.

Co-chairmen of the Coalition's steering committee are Don Peterson and Paul Schrade. Peterson led the Wisconsin delegation to the Democratic National Convention, the only one wholly committed to McCarthy. Schrade is Los Angeles organizer for Walter Reuther's United Auto Workers.

Other members of the steering committee include Michael Harrington, a Socialist, and Don Rothenberg, the controversial campaign coordinator for defeated Los Angeles mayoralty candidate Tom Bradley. Active in the Communist party in the 1940s and 1950s, Rothenberg recently stated he left the party in 1956, but he is still active in radical politics and has made common cause with the Communists in numerous activities. In 1967 he chaired a meeting of the Bay Area Emergency Action Committee in the Hall of Flowers in Golden State Park. According to a San Francisco *Examiner* report in July of that year, the meeting was actually a "drive to buy guns for Bay Area Negroes. . . ."

Meanwhile, politicos will be waiting to see just how many other strongly anti-Communist Democrats the NDC will try to torpedo in 1970—and just how long the Jacksons of the party will tolerate the moral and financial aid given to the NDC by the Kennedys and the McGoverns. Assuming liberal Democratic lawmakers continue to back the efforts of the NDC, the 1968 split in the Democratic party may seem tiny compared with the possible Grand Canyon looming in 1970.

Schadeberg on the Surtax

By a narrow margin of 210 to 205 votes, the House last week approved the Administration's crucial tax legislation. Under the terms of the bill, the 10 per cent surcharge will continue through 1969 and be reduced to 5 per cent through fiscal 1970; the scheduled reduction in excise taxes on autos and communications will be postponed for one year and the 7 per cent investment credit will be repealed.

Not every citizen fared badly, however. As a bone to the poor, the tax bill would remove many low-income families from the tax rolls and lower taxes on many other families. As one observer noted, the bill that passed "socked it to the American middle class."

Conservatives divided sharply on the issue. Rep. Jim Utt (R.-Calif.) supported the Administration's

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bill. In arguing the Administration's case, Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.) stressed that the tax package, which may bring in as much as an extra $10 billion in 1970, was vital to fight the inflationary binge sweeping the country. Anderson indicated that if the government could not extract these billions from the taxpayer, it would have to go into the money market and "compete for funds at a time when interest rates are already extremely high—so high that they are threatening to ruin such vital industries in our country as the home construction industry."

Rep. Leslie Arends (R.-Ill.), the respected GOP whip, contended that to defeat this bill would be "saying to our people that we do not have the will and the courage to 'kick the habit' of unbalanced budgets and deficit financing.

"To defeat this bill will be tantamount to saying to the money markets of the world that we, in the United States, do not intend to put our fiscal house in order. It will be an invitation to foreign holders of dollars to convert their dollars to gold. It is a risk of such consequence that I, for one, am not willing to take it."

But other conservatives like Rep. Henry Schadeberg (R.-Wis.) argued that the way to halt inflation is to stop government spending.

For the government to tax the individual and then spend the money itself, Schadeberg maintained, does nothing to impede inflation. "My position," he declared, "is that if government could cut its spending significantly, the job of fighting inflation could be done without increasing taxes and be done far more effectively."

Schadeberg stressed that Congress could make sizable slashes in foreign aid, the space program and even

Surtax bill extenders confer at the Capitol after the vote. From left: Rep. Carl Albert [D.-Okla.], Rep. Gerald Ford [R.-Mich.] and Rep. Hale Boggs [D.-La.].

the military without impairing our national security. He also called for realistic tax reform, a cutback in public works and the shelving of scores of federal programs that are nothing more than boondoggles.

If Congress were really interested in combatting inflation, the Wisconsin solon said, then it "should have postponed the increase in congressional pay. In fact, it would have been well to set the stage by cutting congressional salaries as a token beginning. This would have saved $6,687,500 each year, to say nothing of the savings in the agencies where salaries are based on congressional schedules."

Schadeberg also called for Congress to postpone increases in the congressional staffs that the House voted for itself two weeks ago. "If the government were not constantly increasing its activities, this staff increase would not have been necessary," Schadeberg stressed, "but necessary or not, it should have been delayed as a means of economizing. In pay alone the House staff increases amount to an annual outlay of $3,262,580. To provide each new staff member with office equipment, phone and so forth, estimated conservatively at $800 per employe, there will be an additional capital outlay of $345,000."

Schadeberg, of course, did not carry the day. But while the House passed the tax bill—which faces an interesting time in the Senate—a number of congressmen believe that now, more than ever, it is vital to adopt Schadeberg's "stop spending" strategy. Since Congress has decided to clobber the taxpayer because Congress itself has been on a spending spree, the taxpayer, it is being argued, if he is not going to revolt or kick his congressman out of office, better be assured from now on that Congress will make a determined effort to shut off the federal money faucet.

The rollcall on the tax bill is on page 15. The following is a list of those congressmen who two weeks ago voted to give themselves an extra office worker—courtesy of the U.S. taxpayer—and then one week later voted to extend the surtax:

DEMOCRATS: 30

Albert
Alexander
Annunzio
Boggs
Bolling
Brooks
Burke (Mass.)
Daddario
Dawson
Fallon
Fascell
Friedel
Hamilton
Jones (Ala.)
Kluczynski
Mann
Moorhead
Murphy (Ill.)
Patman
Purcell
Rivers
Rogers (Fla.)
Ronan
Rooney (Pa.)
Sikes
Steed
Teague (Tex.)
Udall
Wright
Young

REPUBLICANS: 40

Anderson (Ill.)
Bell (Calif.)
Blackburn
Brock
Brown (Mich.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Burton (Utah)
Carter
Clausen, Don
Dickinson
Edwards (Ala.)
Fish
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Gubser
Gude
Halpern
Hansen (Idaho)
Harvey
Hogan
Lukens
McClory
McCloskey
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
MacGregor
Mailliard
Mathias
Morton
Pettis
Pollock
Reid (N. Y.)
Reifel
Sandman
Schwengel
Steiger (Wis.)
Vander Jagt
Whalen
Wiggins
Wyatt

About That 'Surplus'. . .

In passing the surtax bill last week, some House members were applauding the Nixon Administration for cutting down on expenses to produce the first "surplus" since 1960. The final figure will not be known for several weeks, but officials were reasonably certain that a narrow cash surplus—probably less than $1 billion—had been achieved for fiscal 1969 which ended June 30.

While the Nixon Administration has certainly bettered the Johnson Administration—which piled up a whopping $25.2-billion cash deficit in fiscal 1968—the fact is that the "surplus" is not really a surplus at all.

The "surplus" comes only when one adds all the money coming into the federal government, including the dollars flowing into the various trust funds (Social Security, Medicare, etc.). But as Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.), ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, has pointed out, by no stretch of the imagination can the various trust funds be included as normal revenue for defraying the daily operating expenses of the government. These trust funds represent taxes paid by the employer and the employe and the government acts as the trustee for these funds.

Under the law, no administration and no Congress can divert these funds to pay for the operating expenses of the government. Because this is, indeed, a fact, Congress was impelled to raise the permanent debt ceiling on March 19 from $285 billion to $365 billion, with a one-year "temporary" ceiling of $377 billion.

Under the old, Administrative budget—the same one the Republicans used to zero in on when the Democrats were in power—the Nixon Administration has actually piled up close to an $8-billion deficit. Furthermore, budget gimmickry was used to produce even the mild cash surplus that has been projected.

In order to achieve this "surplus," the Administration auctioned off millions of dollars in CCC certificates at a whopping 8.723 per cent. This is particularly embarrassing for the Nixon Administration, since the CCC obligations are participation certificates. Use of so-called "PCs" to increase a budget surplus or to trim a deficit was severely condemned by President Johnson's Budget Commission. The chairman of that commission, lo and behold, was none other than David Kennedy, President Nixon's secretary of the treasury. Kennedy's staff director was Robert Mayo, now Nixon's budget director.

"This stuff troubles both Kennedy and Mayo," the Washington *Post* reported a close associate of both as saying last week. "But we have to have a budget surplus and you do what you have to to get it."

Commerce Easing Red Trade?

East-West trade promoters in the Administration are leaking information that the Commerce Department will soon begin to loosen up trade restrictions with Red bloc countries. This move will come, these reports say, despite the White House's public opposition to a campaign led by Senators Edmund Muskie (D.-Maine) and Walter Mondale (D.-Minn.) to expand trade with the Communists through an overhaul of the Export Control Act.

The Commerce Department's Office of Export-Control, so these leaks maintain, plans to ease curbs on shipments of industrial chemicals, nuclear radiation testing equipment, metal-working machinery, data-processing equipment and other electronic products. *Business Week*, whose Commerce Department sources are considered excellent, says the Office of Export Control also plans to:

- Remove a large number of items from the list of 1,300 products requiring individual export licenses and relax the rules for licenses on others.
- Shorten the list of products that cannot be transshipped from non-Communist countries to Red nations.
- Speed up the processing of requests for licenses.

Remarks *Business Week* (June 28): "Businessmen complained that the Johnson Administration's decontrol move in 1964 affected many items that were of little interest because the Communists didn't want to buy them anyway.

"This time, the Export Control Office intends to ease regulations on products with significant trade potential."

White House sources maintain that they don't believe this is the President's intention, but many on Capitol Hill are still wondering why he has chosen to put into several key posts in his Administration men who favor pumping up Communist economies with U.S. industrial goods.

Douglas Still Under Fire

The Supreme Court has recessed for the summer, but many members of Congress are still intensely interested in the activities of Associate Justice William O. Douglas. Douglas' recent trip to Brazil, for instance, is coming under scrutiny as a result of press reports in that country that the 71-year-old jurist suggested the United States was equally oppressive as the Soviet Union.

DOUGLAS

According to a news column in the May 8 issue of *Jornal Do Brasil*, Douglas made several statements in which he stated that he "believes that just as the USSR uses the Warsaw Pact to interfere in Czechoslovakia, the United States uses the OAS for identical procedures in Latin America." (Douglas, said the same column, also plumped for Teddy Kennedy as the best man to promote a new political, social and economic revolution that Douglas insists is demanded by Americans.)

Douglas has also raised Congress' curiosity by his failure to abide by former Chief Justice Earl Warren's call in his last days in office that all Supreme Court justices accept the same conditions of disclosure and limitation on outside financial interests as now apply to the rest of the federal judiciary.

Four of the sitting justices—Potter Stewart, Thurgood Marshall, William J. Brennan and Byron R. White—joined Warren in the disclosure agreement. Those who did not sign were Hugo L. Black, John M. Harlan and Douglas. Both Black, 83, and Harlan, 70, are said to have a strong sense of independence of the court and feel it would be unfitting to enter into such an agreement.

However that may be, Douglas' refusal is seen in quite a different light. Douglas has had numerous outside activities and would probably have been impeached had he not resigned his $12,000-a-year post with the Parvin Foundation following Fortas' acceptance of a $20,000 fee from the Wolfson Foundation.

In looking over the Douglas record, even liberal columnist Marquis Childs was somewhat taken aback.

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"Douglas' decision to stand aloof from the disclosure agreement," commented Childs, "is the more remarkable in light of his record when he was chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission prior to his appointment to the court. He did a first-rate job in shaping up the SEC in its early phase, sternly insisting on the fullest disclosure by executives and directors of the corporations regulated by the Commission. This was a bench mark that has stood ever since. Ironically enough, Louis Wolfson, the financial raider, is in prison today for violation of SEC regulations that Douglas helped to bring into being."

For some inexplicable reason, however, Douglas refuses to submit himself to the same strict standards he has demanded of others—a fact that continues to intrigue both congressmen and investigative reporters.

Nixon Courts the South

In an effort to fulfill its 1968 campaign promises, and with an eye on the 1970 and 1972 elections, the Nixon Administration in recent weeks has begun a vigorous campaign to woo its Southern support, to wit:

• The President has elevated to the top political position at the White House Harry Dent, formerly a key adviser to Sen. Strom Thurmond (R.-S.C.) and recent chairman of the Republican party in South Carolina.

• The Administration just last week abolished the September school disegregation deadline as far too rigid, with both Atty. Gen. John Mitchell and HEW Secretary Robert Finch issuing a joint statement that the "terminal date is too rigid to be either workable or equitable."

• The Administration recently managed to get the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to withdraw its threat to cut off some $12 million in federal funds for the Medical College hospital in Charleston, S.C., which had been struck by Negro employes. The hospital was subjected to a 102-day strike which was settled after the Administration restrained the more zealous "civil rights" crusaders in the department who wanted to force an explosive confrontation with both the state and the college.

• The Administration's new civil rights legislation. As presented by Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, the legislation would radically revise the machinery by which the federal government oversees election law changes in the Southern states. Under the 1965 Voting Rights Act, all such proposed election laws, state and local, must be cleared by either the attorney general or a federal court in Washington before they can go into effect.

Under the Administration proposal, the Southern states could adopt election laws without having to have prior approval from the Justice Department. Furthermore, the Nixon proposal would outlaw literacy tests nationwide, not just in the South. (In addition—and this is why so many Northern liberals have been screaming—the legislation would permit federal examiners to go into Democratic strongholds in the North, not just into Southern states.)

This "wooing of the South," it is interesting to note, comes just as Arlington House is about to publish *The Emerging Republican Majority*, written by Kevin Phillips. Phillips was one of Nixon's principal voter patterns and trends analysts, serving as special assistant to Nixon Campaign Manager John Mitchell. When Mitchell was appointed attorney general, Phillips moved into the Justice Department with him and now serves as his special assistant.

With the aid of some 47 maps and 143 charts, Phillips, as Arlington House pre-publication literature claims, reveals that the GOP must go South if it is to become a permanent majority. "The upcoming cycle of American politics is likely to match a dominant Republican party based in the Heartland, the South and California against a minority Democratic party based in the Northeast and the Pacific Northwest (and encompassing Southern as well as Northern Negroes). With such support behind it, the GOP can easily afford to lose the states of Massachusetts, New York and Michigan—and is likely to do so except in landslide years."

In arguing for the GOP to push southward for votes, Phillips contends: "Together with the Heartland, the South is shaping up as the pillar of a national conservative party. Granted that the South and Heartland have long worked together in Congress, they have not done so in the same partisan harness. However, the extraordinary 1968 debacle of the Democratic party—a collapse never before experienced by the Democrats throughout the *entire* region—bespoke a sharp acceleration of the Republican trend in Dixie."

In short, Richard Nixon is continuing to pursue the Southern Strategy which won him the election in 1968.

$66 Million for Kennedy Memorial

The Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, originally conceived as being completely funded by private sources, is now asking Congress for an additional appropriation of $7.5 million so the building may be completed. A bill authorizing the request (HR 11249) has been reported out of the House Public Works Committee and will be coming up for a floor vote in the next few weeks.

If the Kennedy Center's request is approved, it would bring to $23 million the amount the taxpayers have given to the supposedly "privately funded" Washington cultural center, due to open in late 1970. Once the building is opened to the public, members of Congress are hopeful that the musical and dramatic productions presented in the center will be a shade better than the financial and construction farce that has preceded its completion.

The idea of a cultural center in the Nation's Capital was first advanced during the Eisenhower Administration. Legislation granting use of federal land for such a project was passed in 1958, with the expressed stipulation that no government funds were to be used and that the land-grant act would expire if private monies had not been raised in five years. In 1963 a three-year extension to the fund-raising period was granted.

In 1964 the National Cultural Center became the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. And, as the structure was now to double as a public memorial for the late President, Congress was asked to appropriate $15 million toward its construction, an amount to be matched by private funds. (Another $15 million was authorized for creation of parking facilities.) This amount and its matching funds have proved insufficient to complete construction.

The building, which sits on 17 acres of choice property along the Potomac River adjacent to the Lincoln Memorial, is now about 50 per cent complete. Most of the construction remaining is finishing work, laying floors, installing glass, landscaping, building approaches, etc. Current estimated total cost of the mammoth structure, with its four auditoriums, is $66 million, or about $20 million more than was estimated five years ago.

Why the discrepancy? Kennedy Center Board Chairman Roger Stevens claims that skyrocketing construction costs and untimely labor strikes were a major factor. For example, during a longshoreman's strike last January tons of marble donated by Italy for the center's walls sat on the docks in New York, costing the center $2,700 a day in storage.

However, critics of the center's management, such as Rep. Henry Schadeberg (R.-Wis.), point to "carelessness and lack of foresight in the construction and planning of this building."

Schadeberg notes as examples "a $2.7-million estimating innaccuracy in the amounts of structural steel" and a "$1.2-million increase in the cost factor for change orders." Also upsetting to Schadeberg and other members of the House Public Works Committee is the fact that the center's directors knew more money would be needed as long ago as the fall of 1966, but waited until now—when the urgency and "crisis" was greatest—to come before Congress.

(Stevens, a prominent New York realtor and Broadway play producer, serves as chairman of the Center's Board of Trustees. Other members of the board represent a tasty cross-section of the Liberal Establishment: Sen. Edward Kennedy, academic gadfly Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Xerox Board Chairman Sol Linowitz, former Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas, AFL-CIO President George Meany, Jack Valenti, ex-Sen. Thomas Kuchel, U.S. Commissioner of Education James Allen and Sen. William Fulbright. The four most recent First Ladies—the Mmes. Nixon, Johnson, Eisenhower and—uh—Onassis—serve as honorary chairmen of the board.)

It is likely that Congress will grant the $7.5 million extra needed to complete the Kennedy Center (as well as another $5 million to finish the parking facilities), since no one especially wants to see a half-finished marble-and-concrete box sitting idle along the shores of the Potomac. In their most recent appearance before the House Public Works Committee center spokesmen promised that they would not come to Congress asking any more money. Of course, the center was not supposed to get any federal money in the first place.

And then, all things remaining steady, the Kennedy Center will have its gala opening Dec. 1, 1970. It was originally supposed to be ready in time to hold the Inaugural Ball last January, but it would have been a little drafty. But, then, most of the center's planning and construction has been a bit drafty, too. **Is this why we paid the surtax?**

U.S. Reds Back Black Violence

Does the U.S. Communist party still encourage the violent overthrow of American institutions? While liberals have been saying "No," a leading American Communist contradicted them last week. That was the import of the actions of Claude M. Lightfoot, chairman of the U.S. Communist party commission, in giving his blessings to the revolutionary Republic of New Africa at a black symposium at Wisconsin's Beloit College June 27.

In a high point of the meeting, Imari Obadele, minister of interior for the Republic which claims black militants Ron Karenga, H. Rap Brown and exile Robert F. Williams as officers, outlined his plan for seizing the states of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi and Alabama to form a new black nation.

Claiming to have the backing of Red China, Obadele stressed to the college students that the RNA was raising an army in groups of 1,000 to 5,000 men in major cities to conduct guerrilla warfare, primarily in Mississippi. The group, he maintained, is trying to find an area over which to claim sovereignty before beginning operations in Mississippi, with the present target the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district of New York City.

Obadele went on to say the cities and industrial potential of the United States would be held hostage to insure the safety of the organization. "In all cities 'brothers' are preparing to destroy the industrial production of the country as surely as a missile attack," he emphasized.

Lightfoot, who claimed that he was "sentenced to five years in prison" many years ago for saying just what Obadele had said, felt that "all of America's dispossessed people"—not just the blacks—should work for freedom, but he felt the program described by Obadele was "a lot more sober and sound than others." Lightfoot then added additional words of encouragement for RNA's goal. So much for the carefully groomed thesis that American Communists no longer believe in using force and violence against the United States.

Both Lightfoot's and Obadele's appearances are now being probed by Senate investigators.

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Reprints are now available of **"Are Soviets Planning Nuclear First Strike?"**, the four-page article by Phyllis Schlafly and Adm. Chester Ward which appeared in the May 24, 1969, issue of **Human Events.** Single copies 35¢; 10 for $3; 50 for $12.50; 100 for $25.

Also available because of popular demand, is the two-page article by Al Capp, **"Harvard's Tragedy: Too Arrogant. . .Then Too Cowardly".** Single copies 30¢; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10; 100 for $15.

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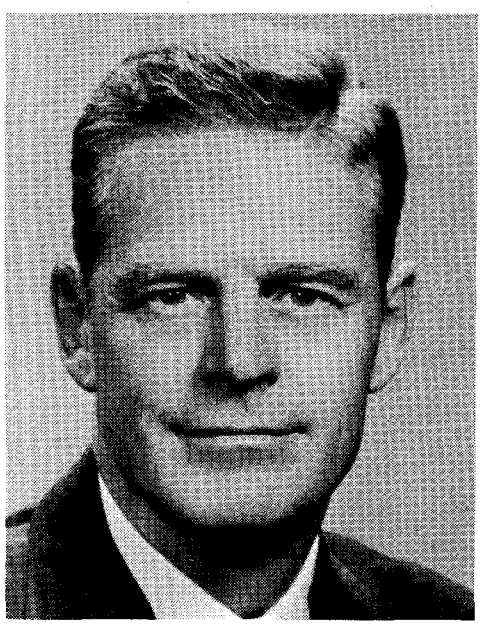

Claiming the bill was a sham, GOP Senators Ed Gurney (Fla.) and John Williams (Del.) were the only two solons to vote against the Administration's budget ceiling measure.

Williams, Gurney Complain

Senate Economy Move a Fraud

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The deception was so transparent and the hypocrisy so conspicuous that the Senate hopes nobody will pry into its recent vote ostensibly cutting the Nixon budget by $5 billion.

But this legislative fraud demands examination, especially when the Joint Economic Committee is reporting that Congress has failed in its constitutional mandate to curtail enormous waste in government spending programs.

On the surface, the Senate struck a great blow for economy. It directed the executive branch, which had asked for $192.9 billion, to spend no more than $187.9 billion in the fiscal year starting July 1.

The final rollcall vote was 87 to 2. The two rebels against a so-called "ceiling" on spending, recognized by everyone as a sham, were Sen. John J. Williams (R.-Del.) and Sen. Edward J. Gurney (R.-Fla.), a freshman.

If Williams ever had any second thoughts about retiring from the Senate next year, a recently announced decision which dismayed all supporters of honest government, they were presumably dissolved as he watched his colleagues in action.

"There is only one purpose here—to fool the taxpayers," he said. "I won't engage in this farce. The so-called 'ceiling' is one in name only. It floats up to permit $200 billion in spending."

Democratic leaders bridled at the use of "farce" to describe the legislation. Williams, a dangerous man when riled, pretended repentance.

"Perhaps 'farce' is too harsh a word," he conceded. "Perhaps it would be better to say that this spending limitation is not worth the paper it is written on. A ceiling? I have been in a barn without a roof and never got as wet as the American people are going to get soaked under this bill."

These were bitter words, privately conceded by the majority to be justified. They were spoken after four days of debate which received almost no attention in the press.

Appropriation bills are dull stuff and the measure under consideration was a hodgepodge of spending requests known as a "supplemental." It contained $4.4 billion for alleged emergency funds for the war in Viet Nam, Social Security, flood control, veterans' benefits, and education. Huge sums had already been voted in these areas, but the federal spenders had run out of money.

As if to ease its conscience about indorsement of these increases in the already swollen budget for the fiscal year about to end, the Senate Appropriations Committee decreed a "ceiling" on spending in the next fiscal year

Then it proceeded to make the ceiling meaningless by exempting programs called "uncontrollable." Some of these, like the war in Viet Nam and interest on the public debt, were legitimate. But the list of exemptions grew until, as Williams noted, a $200-billion spending level was permissible.

In a final slap at economy efforts, the Senate canceled a limitation on federal employment voted only last year amid trumpeting the Congress, at long last, was bringing about a needed reduction in the government payroll.

The Senate has many conscientious members. Why did they participate in a performance made more shameful by its pretensions to economy? One of them confessed his frustrations:

"I'm afraid we are caught in a spending momentum impossible to slow up. We are trapped by decisions made over the last 25 years, accumulative in nature. We have made commitments abroad, to citizens, to industries, to people, which steadily increase in cost each year. It may take a disaster to bring us to our senses."

(1969, Chicago *Tribune*-N.Y.*News* Syndicate)

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Continued from Page 1

Military at Fault in Viet Nam?

of American lives in the war. The secretary lost his cool and vented his frustration.

No doubt the Clifford impatience was related to the impending election. The Democrats needed an apparent breakthrough at Paris to help the election of Hubert Humphrey. Finally, on October 31, President Johnson brushed aside the Saigon reservations and announced the cessation of all bombing of North Viet Nam. It was a grandstand play to mislead the American people into believing that the war would soon be over. It failed, but only narrowly.

In rationalizing his conversion to withdrawal, Secretary Clifford subscribes to some patently unrealistic thesis which compromised the intellectual integrity of his analysis. For all his seeming candor, he is no less a politician.

Clifford argues that a fast withdrawal of U.S. combat forces would not jeopardize the security of South Viet Nam. He claims that our air and sea power could, with the South Vietnamese Army, secure the country. He forgets that our intervention with ground combat forces in 1965 was necessary because air and sea power with the South Vietnamese Army *were not enough.* Surely a fast pull-out of our forces could reduce the country to those straits again. This would be the condition requisite for coalition government.

Clifford writes: "There is, in fact, no magic and no specific military rationale for the number of American troops presently in South Viet Nam. The current figure represents only the level at which the escalation stopped."

The secretary is quibbling. Of course the military strength required to protect a country is not subject to precise formulation. But to imply that troop strength is not rationally related to military requirements is to misrepresent seriously the situation in South Viet Nam.

Clifford expresses the dovish view that "a high level of American casualties" is caused by our application of maximum military effort in South Viet Nam. A former secretary of defense should know better. He sustained the policy while he was in office. President Nixon has correctly ordered Gen. Abrams *to minimize casualties.* It is this purpose which requires maximum pressure on the enemy. By preventing the enemy from building up major forces in the south, Gen. Abrams increases the security and reduces the casualties of his own forces.

Clifford writes: "In the long run, the security of the Pacific region will depend upon the ability of the countries there to meet the legitimate growing demands of their own people. . . ." This is misleading cant. The security of the region will depend upon the capacity of the free countries to repel Communist aggression. There is no other threat to the security of the region.

He writes further: "We cannot afford to lose sight of the fact that this is a limited war, for limited aims and employing limited power." This is the familiar and specious plea for restraint of U.S. power. Is the independence of an ally a "limited aim"? If the enemy raises the price, do we quit? Tell that to NATO. This kind of talk is used to conceal the confusion of leaders who are intimidated by Soviet aggression.

Perhaps the most significant revelation made by Secretary Clifford is the role of our military leaders in policy making. If he reported correctly that Generals Taylor and Wheeler accepted without challenge the President's three restrictions on the conduct of the war, this is the crux of our continuing failure in Viet Nam.

We cannot expect civilian leaders to distinguish between sound and disastrous military policy when their top military advisers fail to do so.

This war stems entirely from the three presidential restrictions. Without them, there would be no war. South Viet Nam could defend itself with only materiel support. To end the war, South Viet Nam must be allowed to destroy the aggressors where they are—in Laos, Cambodia and North Viet Nam.

The task can be accomplished without risk of Soviet or Red Chinese intervention if the operations are soundly projected. It is the military responsibility to chart sound military policy.

This observer had assumed that military leaders were recommending the denial of sanctuary and unrestricted counterattack against enemy forces waging war against South Viet Nam. It seemed probable that these recommendations had been overruled by the President on advice of the State Department.

Clark Clifford now tells us that whatever the recommendations of subordinate military commanders in the inner councils of government, the top military leaders have embraced the presidential restraints as "wisely designed to prevent our being drawn into a larger war." He gives the public a new view of our Viet Nam tragedy. The senior military leaders are responsible.

It was distinctly the responsibility of the military leaders to foresee that the presidential directives would condemn us and our allies to a bloody, endless war of attrition which could not be won.

It was distinctly the military responsibility to show that the enemy forces could be decisively repulsed and defeated when our side could strike across the borders at the aggressors, and that such action would sharply reduce force requirements for the defense of South Viet Nam.

It was distinctly the military responsibility to show the President that such response, clearly authorized in international law, would not provoke Soviet or Red Chinese intervention as long as the clear consequence of such intervention would be war with the United States.

Who else in government is qualified to judge these questions?

Clark Clifford's article tells us that our senior military leaders have failed in their duty to the country. They have embraced the civilian rationalization of appeasement. They have in truth betrayed the political leaders whom they thought to accommodate.

This kind of military default is not rare in history. It has caused the fall of nations.

Abraham Lincoln fired the generals who failed. It took him three years to find in Grant a general who could win. There aren't many who can.

In this hour, the tragedy of Viet Nam is extended by President Nixon's retention of the Johnson generals. With them, he will founder as Clifford did.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were satisfied with losers. Will Richard Nixon continue on their course? This is the crucial question of American policy today.

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ARE ALIVE AND FREE IN SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

FROM WHERE I STAND
By
Louis L. Michael
President and Chairman of the Board
The Travis Savings and Loan Association

There's a strange philosophy among an alarmingly growing number of business people to the effect that it's okay to lose the country, but for God's sake don't lose a customer. I prefer to save the country even if it means losing every customer I have. If the country is lost, we're lost, and what good are customers then! This is what I believe. And I'm proud to stand up and be counted. That's what counts. As a result, I am known as San Antonio's Mr. Conservative. Good! Great! I'm proud of it. I'm eager to stand up anywhere and tell everybody how very conservative I am. I've done it for years. I did it when I was a delegate to the 1964 Republican National Convention. I'm still doing it.

Mr. Conservative? Right! I believe in conservatism. I support it. Constantly. I believe in being actively involved personally, and in getting the Travis Savings and Loan Association actively involved in conservative activities.

For example, we have sponsored Dan Smoot's broadcast reports for over five years. We sponsored Fulton Lewis, Jr., and are continuing with Fulton Lewis, III. We participated in William Buckley's "Firing Line." We sponsor special documentary programs on TV; "Hollywood's Answer to Communism," "Operation Abolition," "The Truth About Communism." And so on.

We help to bring well-known conservative speakers to San Antonio; W. Cleon Skousen, Dr. Max Rafferty, Dean Clarence Manion, and others.

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Today, the Travis Savings and Loan Association has assets of over $40,000,000; offers the unique security of the HIGHEST PERCENTAGE OF RESERVES of any savings association in the City of San Antonio. That's safety.

We are not the largest savings association in San Antonio, but size should not be the prime factor in the choice of a financial institution. Stability is the first consideration, for the greater the stability, the greater the security.

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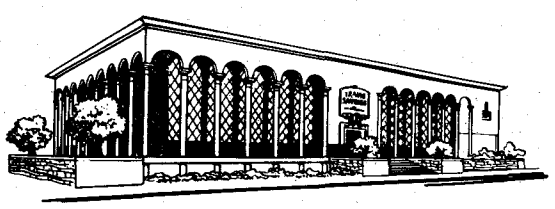

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'Military-Industrial' Cliche

Let's Not Overlook the 'Political-Journalistic' Complex

By REP. CHARLES S. GUBSER (R.-Calif.)

Though some may be reluctant to admit it, defense procurement and politics cannot be separated. Aside from the obvious fact that procurement dollars are made available through the political process, there is more important truth —at this very moment, political controversy has placed the future of defense procurement under a massive cloud of uncertainty.

The House of Krupp and other manufacturers of armaments have traditionally been looked upon as "greedy profiteers who feast upon the misfortunes of men who must die or be maimed in war." No one has ever loved the munitions maker, but today the widespread disenchantment with our national policy in Southeast Asia and public resentment against the war in Viet Nam have intensified this instinctive and latent distrust of the defense industry.

Opponents of the war have enjoyed a field day in quoting part of President Eisenhower's farewell address completely out of context.

A motley collection, including sincere advocates of unilateral disarmament, ultra-liberals, internationalist and just plain peaceniks, have sought to inject credibility into their anti-military arguments by quoting President Eisenhower's remarks concerning the "military-industrial complex." Ironically, very few of these people ever agreed with Eisenhower on any other point and, interestingly enough, they neglect to quote his full statement.

Almost in the same paragraph and certainly in the same context, Mr. Eisenhower said, "We must also be alert to the equal and opposite danger that public policy could itself become the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

They also neglected to mention Eisenhower's warning in the same speech when he said, "Our arms must be mighty, ready for instant action, so that no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction. . . ."

But, regardless of the intellectual hypocrisy employed, the words, "military-industrial complex" have stuck and the image they create is evil in the public mind.

I suggest that there is another combination which is dangerous. I call it the political-journalistic complex.

If a politician of today chooses to react to public opinion instead of constructively influencing it through leadership, he finds a willing ally in the nation's press. One congressman received thousands of column inches of publicity for his attacks upon war profiteers and his insistence that the obsolete Renegotiation Board be maintained with increased authority. This same congressman admitted that a year and a half earlier he had never heard of the board.

I have opposed renewal of the act and have presented figures, which have never been challenged, that show the annual loss to the taxpayers through operation of the board was probably $69.3 million for the period 1963 through 1967.

But during my campaign for re-election last fall, my opponent consistently stated that I sought to abolish a board which had saved the taxpayers more than $3 billion. The press repeated this statement every time it was uttered and rarely printed my repudiation, which showed that these savings were for the early years of operation of the board and were invalid for its current operation.

Last year when the amendments to the Truth in Negotiations Act were before the House Armed Services subcommittee headed by Rep. Porter Hardy (D.-Va.), a reporter for a national newspaper chain openly boasted that the bill under consideration was his and that he had proposed it as well as lobbied for its passage.

When Adm. Hyman Rickover testifies before the Banking and Currency Committee, as well as the Appropriations Committee, and alleges, as he did last year, that profits on negotiated defense contracts have increased by an average of 25 per cent, it makes tremendous headlines.

When Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, produces selected figures to show war profiteering and a 25 per cent increase in defense industry profits as justification for a uniform accounting requirement, it is prominently featured in the press to further besmirch the public image of the defense industry.

Yet in the same hearing before the senator, when I quoted Logistic Management Institute figures showing only a 6.9 per cent net profit on total capital investment on defense business for the year 1966 while profits improved for commercial business, I did not see a single line written about the statement in the public press.

When Sen. Proxmire alleged that the LMI figures were self-serving, the press apparently accepted his view and totally ignored the testimony of the General Accounting Office which followed and vindicated my position in support of the LMI figures.

Obviously it makes a better story if a reporter can write about what is shockingly wrong instead of what is drab and uninteresting because it is constructive truth.

This climate created by the political-journalistic complex has promoted an increasing array of regulation and law which lowered defense profit and harassed industry to the point where middle-sized companies are clearly concentrating on expansion of commercial, rather than defense business.

As a result, our base of expertise which is available to the national defense is shrinking. The useless Renegotiation Act has been extended with the standard catalogue exemption curtailed. The Truth in Negotiations Act has been expanded to the point where the operation of any defense company is practically an open book.

And now we have a study of a possible requirement for uniform accounting procedures. A study almost inevitably means a new law, so I predict that you in defense industry will be required to keep still another set of books in order to satisfy congressional and executive branch probing.

There is no doubt that today's political climate is dark, gloomy, and foreboding insofar as defense industry is concerned.

I am sorry to say that the military itself has contributed to the wave of public suspicion rolling in its direction. Throughout my 12 years as a member of the Armed Services Committee, I have noted an increasing lack of candor by military witnesses before congressional committees. Rarely do they falsify, but almost always they engage in a practice which I have personally termed as "fact-fuzzing."

To put it differently, they obscure facts by surrounding them with "gobbledygook." They know that we in Congress must cover a multitude of subjects and that we are no match for the hundreds of specialists in the Pentagon who can be turned loose on a particular subject. Unfortunately, I have sometimes believed that industry has been an acquiescent collaborator with the military in this practice of fact-fuzzing.

Within just the last few weeks I have experienced three difficult situations which have caused me, a staunch friend of the military, to be just a little bit doubtful.

Recently our Seapower subcommittee concluded an in-depth inquiry into an imminent decision by the Navy to convert the entire destroyer construction program to gas turbine propulsion as opposed to steam. As the person who triggered this investigation, I say that I held no preconceived ideas as to which would be the proper route for the Navy to take because I do not profess engineering expertise. But I was concerned about a major departure from established principles in an area where a free world combatant vessel with similar horsepower requirements had never been built, especially when I knew that opposition and doubt existed within the Navy itself.

However, on April 22 a little meeting was held in the the Pentagon where it was decided that to express these doubts before Congress would endanger the destroyer program. So the neat little "British Square of Defense" was formed and not a single Department of Defense witness expressed anything but absolute confidence in this untried concept.

I repeat that I have no personal preference insofar as a propulsion system is concerned, but I must state that, despite the uniformity and the "carbon copy" testimony which we received from all parties concerned, the seat of my pants tells me that the Navy let it be known that gas turbine propulsion was the only type of proposal it wished to receive.

We in Congress, who must authorize $341 million for the first five ships of a 30-ship program, must take the word of the Navy on faith. This I have always been willing to do, but, quite frankly, my faith is shaken when I know the truth has been concealed from me.

Just recently the C5A hearing played into the hands of newspapermen present by failing to respond to the questions raised with a candor and directness which the situation required. Instead of clearing up a difficult public relations situation, the Air Force dug itself deeper.

In recent weeks our Special Investigating Committee has concluded an inquiry into the Sheridan-Shellelagh tank system of the Army. Here again we were forced to probe deeply, to question and cross-question, and to painfully extract documents from the Army to which we are entitled as a special investigating committee.

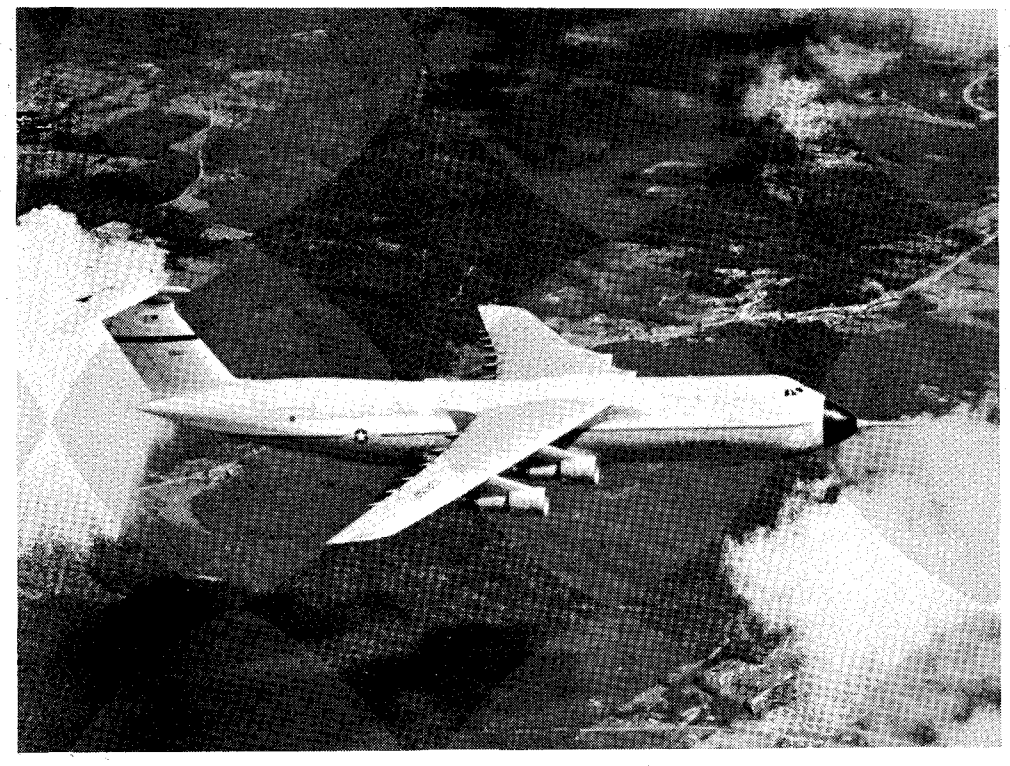
The old gimmick of stamping "classified" on non-sensitive, but embarrassing, documents was worked to a fare-thee-well. I do not recall one principal witness who responded to congressional questioning with complete candor and who did not employ the technique of "fact-fuzzing."

I think the military must realize that the time has passed when a meeting with "Uncle" Carl Vinson (former chairman of the House Armed Services Committee) at 7 a.m. will assure them of getting what they want. Congress is responsive to the American people. The present climate insures that Congress will insist upon candid answers to honest questions.

In light of the political realities of the present which influence defense procurement, let us look to the future.

After the war in Viet Nam has been concluded, we all know there will be a massive competition for funds between domestic and defense programs. Highway construction, rapid transit requirements, air and water pollution, renovating the city slums, and many socially popular programs will be bidding for the money

Rep. Gubser is a veteran member of the House Armed Services Committee. This article is excerpted from a recent address he delivered to the National Association of Manufacturers' Spring Conference on National Defense in Key Biscayne, Fla.



The flap over the cost overrun for the Air Force C5A (above) has obscured the fact that the so-called "military-industrial complex" is not the only "complex" that bears watching.

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which will not be spent in Southeast Asia.

As America relaxes in its traditional fashion following the cessation of any hostility, the tendency to cut back on defense procurement will be even greater.

But in this regard I believe we can depend upon the Communists to influence world opinion with another Czechoslovakia, a Hungary, or a Berlin, or some technological breakthrough which will cause a public reaction similar to the first Sputnik.

When Viet Nam is behind us, I honestly believe that even some peaceniks will eventually realize that Communist intentions can be judged only by Communist actions. The time will come, and very soon, when most Americans will realize that it is not a question of whether an ABM will work, but whether the Russians and the Chinese *think* it might work.

The time will come when we will honestly assess the Communist state of mind by, as I said before, actions and deeds, not wishful thinking.

To the student of history it was obvious long ago that the Soviet Union adopted a firm policy of research and development. It was clearly established that the Soviets intended to dominate the world in this field, and if we look back more than a generation we see that the upward trend of such military research and development has never deviated.

It did not dip down at the death of Stalin, it did not change because of a national election, it did not change because suddenly they needed more money for some new social program. It did not change because there was a presidential election. The Soviet Union never deviated from its course of dominating the world in the field of military research and development.

On the other hand, however, we reacted to Sputnik with a sudden increase in research and development funds. And then along came an election, or a new social program, and we cut military research sometimes by as much as 60 per cent.

By every index, including the number of scientific graduates, the percentage of its gross national product devoted to military research and development, the square footage of space devoted to that purpose, and every other conceivable index, there can be no doubt of the Russian intention to dominate the world in military research and development.

In light of these facts, we who make public policy must, in my considered opinion, be prepared to embark upon a program of military research, development and deployment of hardware which will guarantee, as President Eisenhower said in his farewell address, that "no potential aggressor may be tempted to risk his own destruction. . . ."

Reluctantly, I must suspect, as Plato said—"Only the Dead have seen the end of War."

There is no doubt that after Viet Nam we will need a strong industrial base and it is up to those of us who are politicians and policy makers to influence public opinion to the point where that industrial base will be supported.

It is also our duty to stop the current congressional tendency to pass harassing and needless legislation which over-regulates and results in the shrinking of that industrial base as companies decide to concentrate on commercial production rather than military.

The industrial base must be prepared in the future to do more than just turn out hardware. It must be prepared to assume a greater share of the research required for the Department of Defense which inevitably will flow away from our colleges and universities and into either government "in-house" research laboratories or industrially based laboratories.

Because of the academician's attitude toward administration and discipline in our colleges, there is little doubt in my mind that all classified research will soon be removed from the college campuses.

This will present a serious problem in places like MIT, for example, where that institution with its associated laboratory, the Lincoln Lab, receives an average of $119 million in defense research funds each year. For the portion of this amount which is classified and involves men like Dr. Charles Draper, undoubtedly the world's expert on guidance, we will have serious problems.

Parenthetically, let me make this statement: It is amusing that the Students for a Democratic Society, by foreclosing the right of universities to do Department of Defense research work and failing to recognize that such work must and will go on, are actually increasing the power of the military for which they hold such disdain.

The alternative to conducting such research at universities will be to either shift it to government in-house laboratories under the control of the military or to private contractors who will also be partly controlled by the military.

Thus, the SDS, by its short-sighted action, is actually increasing the power of the group which they profess to distrust.

To maintain our industrial base and the expanded requirements it must absorb, action is necessary on the part of both industry and those of us in the public arena who make public policy.

I believe industry has certain obligations in the public relations field.

First, it must do something to explode the myth of excessive profit and the myth that competition in defense procurement does not exist. Some means must be found whereby the extensive and well-documented LMI report cannot be swept into the publicity background by Mr. Weidenbaum's faulty survey done for Sen. Proxmire and repeated by Adm. Rickover.

I respectfully suggest that industrial people have a very special power in this regard. Industry controls a major percentage of the advertising dollar and, make no mistake about it, the advertising dollar is the Achilles heel of the publishing and the broadcasting industry.

Understand, I do not suggest that industry seek to manage the news. I only say that as the group which spends the advertising dollar it has a right to strongly suggest that the news be objective and that reporters who write headline stories have the obligation to check the facts contained within those stories.

I also believe that industry can do much to encourage the military to be more forthright in its dealings with Congress and the public. The good old days of "clearing it with Uncle Carl" are simply gone and will never return. Congress and the public are tired of "fact-fuzzing. . . ."

In summary, gentlemen, I have probably told you little that you did not already know, but I hope I have put known facts together in a different sort of package.

I believe I have established that, public relations-wise, we are in serious trouble and that something must be done about it. I think I have also established that the national need is for a continuing healthy industrial base and a high level of defense activity and that to maintain such a base certain actions must be taken by industry and by those of us in political life who make public policy.

Basic to what I have said is that there is a political aspect to defense procurement and that the connection of politics and such procurement is perfectly proper and necessary. Recognizing this fact and accepting it are essential to both your industrial welfare and to the security of this nation.

How Operation Integrity Saved the Election

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

In his years as FBI director, J. Edgar Hoover's right-hand man, Louis B. Nichols, won the respect of official Washington and the national press corps. In a politics-prone city he was known for his objectivity, his accuracy and his fairness. In 1968 this reputation served Lou Nichols well, as he took on a job of unprecedented toughness. Then out of the bureau and in private business, he was asked by Richard Nixon shortly after the Miami Beach convention to set up an organization which would prevent the kind of vote fraud that stole the election in 1960.

The story of how Mr. Nichols organized a 100,000-man volunteer army to guarantee an honest count is given in some detail in the July *Reader's Digest*. The highlights are worth retelling for those Americans who believe (1) that the votes in national elections are fairly counted; or (2) that it is impossible to do anything about the wholesale theft of votes in cities controlled by political machines.

"Never, during 35 years in the FBI and in industry, had I faced such a task," Mr. Nichols writes. "I began by enlisting friends and former FBI colleagues in various states. Obviously, with 175,000 precincts and an estimated 86 million registered voters, we could cover only the most urgent targets."

But cover them the Nichols "Operation Integrity" did, and saved the election for Richard Nixon. Though the Democratic National Committee attacked this move to keep the election honest as a plot to "obstruct Democratic votes," thievery at the polls was prevented on a large scale.

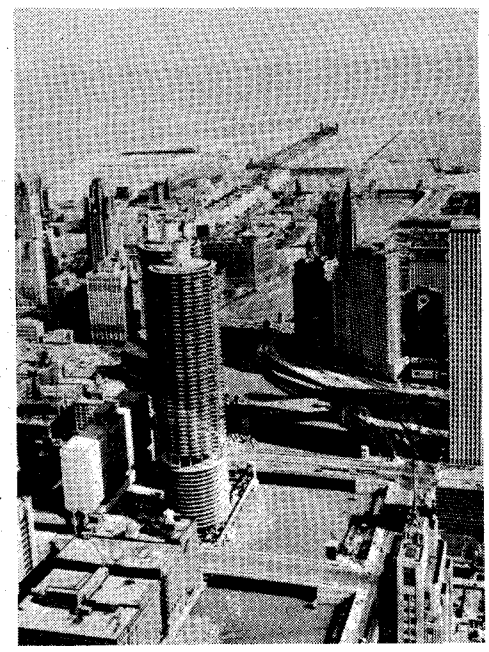
In Lake County, Ind.—solidly in the grip of a notorious Democratic machine—Operation Integrity workers were thrown out of the polls, threatened by goons, and even arrested on trumped-up charges. The registration books were peopled with "ghosts," in one case 21 people from a non-existent building.

In Philadelphia, Republican inspectors checked voting machines 10 days before election. They found that two-thirds of them lacked tamper-proof seals. And many machines still in the warehouse already recorded 1,083 "ghost" votes.

In El Paso, Tex., Republican districts found themselves short of their quota of voting machines. Voters had to stand in line for up to five hours, and many gave up in disgust. Changes in the Texas election law were ignored in many districts. In St. Louis, Operation Integrity mailed letters to 6,500 registered voters in the strongest Democratic districts. Fourteen per cent were returned because the voter had died or moved away. (The St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* suggested that there were "more haunted houses in St. Louis than there are in Disneyland.") With 125 poll watchers keeping an eye on the city's 579 precincts on election day, the Democratic machine's usual majority was cut almost in half, allowing Richard Nixon to carry the state by a narrow margin.

Illinois, one of the states which, according to press consensus, falsified the returns most blatantly and contributed to the election of John F. Kennedy by depriving Mr. Nixon of a state that was his, gave Operation Integrity the most concern. Mayor Richard Daley's machine was everywhere, and it resorted to attempted bribes, terror and intimidation to keep 600 "honest ballot" poll watchers from doing their job. But with help from the federal courts, they persisted.

The job they did saved the state for Mr. Nixon. In the 27th Ward, for example, "registration lists showed scores of voters living in burned-out buildings, vacant lots and houses where others resided. . .about 170,000 of Chicago's 1.8 million registered voters were 'ghosts.'" In the 27th Ward, 28 of its 50 precincts were manned by members of the Nichols operation. Warned in advance, the machine desisted from



Chicago's notorious "ghost voting" was drastically cut down by the watchfulness of Lou Nichols.

voting the flophouses and the graveyards, and the number of people who showed up at the polls dropped 27 per cent. And Democratic pluralities fell by 52 per cent from those in the 1968 primary election.

Had there been an Operation Integrity in 1960, Richard Nixon would have won the presidency hands down, for it was in St. Louis, Texas and Chicago that he lost. In 1968, as Mr. Nichols points out, "the theft of only 78,000 votes in St. Louis and Cook County would have deprived Richard Nixon of the required 270 electoral-vote majority—and would have plunged us into a national crisis with Alabama's George Wallace holding the key."

The picture is a frightening one, yet with hopeful overtones. For if Lou Nichols could organize the bipartisan manpower last November to keep at least part of the electoral process clean, then others can do the same.

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Senators Gore and Fulbright Play Semantic Games on ABM

By JOHN LOFTON

On a subject as important as whether or not this country should or should not build a missile defense system, it is sad to see opponents of the proposed Safeguard ABM beginning to use obfuscation as a tactic in the debate.

The two chief obfuscators are Senators J. William Fulbright and Albert Gore. Unable to find any significant chinks in the armor of Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird's arguments for the ABM, the senator from Arkansas and the senator from Tennessee have begun to play words—semantics—pick nits.

The idea, you see, has been twofold: first, to spread the word that there are major differences between Secretary Laird's estimates of a Soviet first-strike capability and that of the top-level, inter-agency body that coordinates intelligence estimates, the United States Intelligence Board; and, secondly, to try and make appear as a major shift Laird's recent statements that in addition to having a first-strike capability, the Soviet SS-9 missile could also have a second-strike capability.

These two things being established, it would then be a short hop, skip and a jump to a total discrediting of everything Laird said in the past and the case for the ABM would have been dealt the *coup de grace.*

Only a funny thing happened to Senators Gore and Fulbright on their way to discredit Secretary Laird: During the five-hour, closed-door grilling of Laird, accompanied by CIA Director Richard Helms, the anti-ABM forces were unable to show any differences at all between the secretary of defense and the U.S. Intelligence Board.

A source inside the Foreign Relations Committee says that despite rigorous cross-examination of both Laird and Helms, neither Fulbright nor Gore were able to establish any discrepancies whatsoever between the two.

(One senator who saw the press stories the next day reporting on such differences, chuckled, and remarked to an assistant, "I wonder where the papers get this kind of stuff. It simply isn't true.")

The fact that there really were no differences between the two was noted in the New York *Times*, but one had to be a pretty persistent reader to find it.

In the 20th paragraph of their front-page story, the *Times* reported: "While the Intelligence Board may have not made any findings supporting the Laird conclusions, committee members, when pressed by reporters, acknowledged that

Sen. J. William Fulbright (above), along with fellow anti-ABMer Sen. Gore, is using false arguments to document his case.

the board had not made any finding contradicting the Laird first-strik assessment."

The Boston *Globe* quoted Sen. Ful bright himself admitting the same thing "My own feeling is that the conclusion of the secretary are not based on th conclusions of the United States Intel ligence Board." Which is exactly th point: The fact that Secretary Laird' evaluations of Soviet first-strike capabil ties are not based on the evaluations o the U.S. Intelligence Board is attribut able not to a disagreement on in telligence information or interpretatio of that information, but rather to th fact that the U.S. Intelligence Board ha simply made no such evaluation! An to try and conclude from the board' silence on the subject, as Gore an Fulbright have done, that there is basic disagreement with Laird's assess ment, is a mischievous non sequitur.

On the subject of the second-strike as well as the first-strike capabilities of the Soviet super missile, the SS-9, Senators Gore and Fulbright again muddy the water.

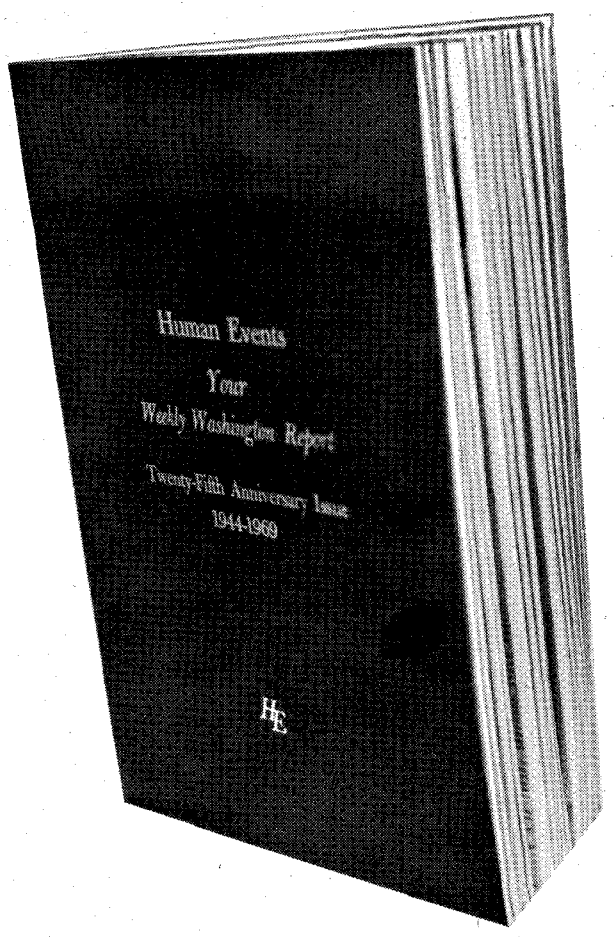
Accusing Secretary Laird of completely changing the meaning of first strike capability because of his noting the additional capabilities of the SS-9 they seem unable to grasp the fact tha one day a person can say a machine gun may be used to initiate a fusillade of bullets, and the next day that same person can say that that same gun may also be used to fire back after being fired on, and that there is no contradiction in the two statements. The SS-9 might also be usable as a door stop. but because it might be doesn't in any way negate its capability as a first-strike weapon.

So, having been shot down on these two points, it's back to the drawing board for Senators Fulbright and Gore. And when they return with new charges, as they most certainly will, it is to be hoped that they will eschew pettifoggery on the ABM issue, because to indulge in such tactics on so crucial a subject is to not only violate the rules of civil debate but to endanger the security of this nation as well.

□□□

MAKES YOU WONDER—"The rock structure under the United States section of Niagara Falls has been eroding away, and repairs are needed. So the United States and Canada signed agreements recently to shut off the 1,000-foot-wide falls for up to six months. Makes you wonder why they never could do anything about Hubert Humphrey's speeches."—From the Chicago *American*

CONSERVATIVE POLITICS
Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow



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Where Is Europe Going?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Rome:—Where is Europe going?

Here in Italy it depends on whom you ask. Some, pointing to the official approval of European Union and a European Common Market that includes Britain and to this country's amazing ecomomic growth, foresee a peaceful future. Others, worried by the prevailing indifference to the Communist danger both internal and external, answer, "To pot."

An experienced foreign diplomat replied: "You tell me."

In Italy the apparent popular indifference to the external threat is not due to lack of news from abroad. Here TV, radio and newspapers like Milan's *Corriere della Sera* give full treatment to world affairs, over-wordy but well balanced.

Yet Italian correspondents abroad, in this writer's judgment, show all too little anxiety concerning the Soviet Union's growing presence within the Mediterranean (Mussolini's mare nostrum) **and still less over the Brezhnev Doctrine and the revived imperialism which it indicates.**

Most readers seem to consider all this America's business and even welcome what could be a Russo-American dyarchy shaping the rest of the world. Meanwhile, Italy, like our other military allies, is not pulling its weight in the NATO boat.

Italians answer that within NATO they are still one of the poorest countries. But it seems strange that any people boasting the second highest rate of economic growth in the world should devote just over 3 per cent of its gross national production to military defense. The rest goes for domestic development and above all for ever greater popular consumption consistently fostered by what seems an almost unbroken demand for "more" emphasized by continual strikes.

Now certainly to Americans, particularly to an "old Roman" like me, Europe's and Italy's startling postwar improvement in living standards should give deep satisfaction. Moreover, in Italy this increase has occurred in spite of a startling growth of population which is strengthening the push for the sanction of birth control by the Roman Catholic Church.

No one familiar with the really poor Italians of half a century ago can fail to be astonished by the contrast: Today's Romans, for instance, are better fed, taller and, with the exception of the local hippies, better dressed. They also seem to have more free time. Only well-heeled students would "occupy" the university and even—believe it or not—cold shoulder that inspirer of today's "Red fascism," Herbert Marcuse, whose lecture they found insufficiently "leftish."

None but a prosperous people could permit its historical capital to be literally overrun by cars and motorcycles, both parked and roaring through the narrow streets in apparent pursuit of walkers.

And doubtless, in a way, Italy's popular preoccupation with better living common to all West Europe is reassuring. Yet combined with illusion or indifference to the worsening political state of the entire world, it could lead to nasty surprises beside which that of Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia would be mild indeed.

Already that shock to NATO politicians has subsided and given way to a new urge to "build bridges" not only to "reformist" Communist countries like Yugoslavia and Rumania (?) but to those seats of modern imperialism, Red Russia and Red China.

This assumption of a "maturing" communism elsewhere is bad enough in countries like Britain, France and Germany (not to speak of the U.S.). But in Italy, whose formidable Communist party has decided that it can eventually take over the country by duping the non-Communists within the normal democratic process, such wishful thinking can be particularly dangerous. Doubtless it explains why those few, including trained diplomats aware of the growing disorder throughout the world, are unwilling even to guess where Europe in general and Italy in particular are headed.

★ ★ ★

Central to Europe's future, among other things, is the policy of the Soviet Union. Today, despite rising political dissent (not really serious) and economic difficulties, the USSR is spending on armaments twice as much as the United States. According to British experts, its nuclear offensive power will soon equal America's and unless President Nixon reverses his predecessors' arms policy, may soon surpass ours.

Should this occur, Europe's prospects would be dark indeed and we Americans might well face the choice between nuclear war and submission to Moscow.

President Nixon and, to a lesser extent, the European powers, can change all this. But to do so, both sides of the Atlantic must overcome such wishful thinking on the part of once dynamic peoples. Readers are familiar with the motives for the Kennedy-Johnson decision not to "provoke" but if possible, to cooperate with, the Kremlin men. Those of the European peoples are less evident but among them this writer is struck by several.

The first is the presence of Socialists in positions of command. Britain has a Socialist government, Germany and Italy coalitions wherein Socialists have co-opted the direction of foreign policy. Most Socialists combine the illusion of Rousseau with that of Marx: Man is naturally good but economically determined; hence poverty is the chief, if not the unique cause of war and other human violence.

A generation ago this made most Socialists unable to believe in the aggressive intentions of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese. Today they cannot credit the undying hostility of Moscow and Peking. Hence the insistence of threatened countries like Germany (externally) and Italy (internally) on ever-increasing trade with sworn enemies.

Domestically, Socialists favor disarmament and welcome the non-proliferation treaty that condemns their own countries to permanent disarmanent in a world where disarmament is still a matter of words.

In this, they have the support of presumable majorities of non-Socialists. The reason is not hard to find: Whether victorious in the last war like Britishers, or occupied and humiliated like Norwegians, Danes, Dutch, Belgians and French, or defeated like Germans and Italians, these peoples have no stomach for any sort of armed conflict that can honorably be avoided. Hence their readiness to leave their own primary defense to Americans.

It is Washington's fault that they are able to do this. There remains something unaccountable (to me, at least) in the readiness of the last three or four American Presidents to maintain an alliance with West Europe without insisting that the West Europeans undertake their share of common defense not only in Europe but wherever it seemed necessary.

Eisenhower, to be sure, assisted France against Ho's guerrillas in Indochina, but when the tricolor went down at Dienbienphu he refused to move. After all, his predecessor had not insisted on greater European contributions to the defense of South Korea or his successors made European participation in South Viet Nam a prerequisite to prolongation of NATO. It is therefore largely our fault that war-weary Europeans think they can have their cake and eat it, too.

Moreover, it was Ike who first swallowed the myth that with Khrushchev the Soviets had mellowed, Kennedy-Johnson who urged our allies to follow us in "building bridges" to the East and who concluded the questionable nuclear test ban with Moscow and relinquished the aim of maintaining a predominant nuclear strike force, and Nixon who followed his predecessors' dangerous example of virtually forcing a nuclear non-proliferation treaty upon allies like Italy and West Germany to the sole benefit of Red Russia. That many war-weary Europeans went along with this last does not mitigate its absurdity. Nor does the qualified approval of many former victims of Hitler's aggression.

Much as the world needs nuclear disarmament, free peoples must realize that short of enforceable world law even partial disarmament will remain at best a myth, at worst a trick on the part of intending aggressors.

For the time being security lies in the maintenance of military predominance (both first and second-strike forces) by the free peoples. As matters stand only the United States can bring this about, either by offering full nuclear partnership to a united West Europe ready to carry its own part of the defense burden or, failing to persuade our allies to accept such an offer, by the threat to withdraw from the alliance unless they do.

That this would require on the part of President Nixon a drastic repudiation of the follies of his predecessors does not make it less necessary. Hence it is what pacifist Europeans fear and wiser ones desire.

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The Freedom to Listen

By DR. MILTON FRIEDMAN

Today is an important day for the young men and the young women in the front rows who are graduating from Rockford College. Tradition hallows with long usage making a special ceremony of commencement—the beginning which comes at the end of the four years of college.

It is well and desirable that we should have such ceremonies. Just as the written language would be hard to read and hard to understand if we did not punctuate it with commas, periods and simi-colons, so our life gains meaning by being punctuated with those ceremonies that mark the end of one stage and the beginning of another.

Of course, the images change as time goes by. In the spirit of today, one is inclined to speak not of going from the ivory tower into the world of affairs, but of going from the battlefield to the world of peace and quiet.

The standard commencement speech goes: "Young men and women, you are now putting away your books and games and entering into the serious business of life." In these days I am inclined rather to say, "Young men, trim your beards. Young men and women, cut your hair. Lay down your rocks. Put down your posters. And get you to the counting desk where your turmoil is behind you."

More seriously, the tendency to use these new images is a sign of the danger and the threat which is facing higher learning today not only in America but throughout the world—a threat to the world of the mind, to the very foundations of the contemplative life, to belief in free discussion, free persuasion, and the free search of knowledge. No commencement speaker this year can avoid facing up to one or another facet of that challenge.

Of course, you will say to me and I will say to you, the threat is arising from a tiny minority. Only a handful of students in a handful of colleges throughout the country has been carrying on in a way that threatens the foundations of higher learning.

That is true. Yet it is not relevant. All important movements in the history of mankind have come from tiny minorties. Whether we speak of great advances in science, in art, or in literature, those advances are not made by the masses. They are made by a few creative individuals who see ahead of the masses and who lay the path for the future.

And what is true for the great, positive advances of civilization, the advances initiated by a Newton, an Einstein and a Fermi, by a Michaelangelo and a Leonardo—what is true for the great advances of civilization is true of the great evils as well. The great dangers to humanity arise from small numbers of men. It is the Hitlers, the Stalins, who are but a handful when they arrive on the scene, who ultimately affect the life of all of us.

So, while the threat does come from a small minority, it is nonetheless important, it is nonetheless urgent for us to examine what it is they say, what it is they threaten, and whether in our view they are going to be benefactors of mankind or malefactors.

This is the text of the commencement address delivered by Dr. Friedman at Rockford College, Rockford, Ill., May 18, 1969.

Of course, in the time I have with you today, it is impossible to discuss the whole problem that is raised for higher learning by the discord and dissension which sweeps some of our campuses. I shall talk today of a particular facet of that problem. The facet I shall talk about is the threat to the life of the mind that arises from a misunderstanding of the meaning and the place of freedom of speech.

In thinking about this topic, I was reminded of a favorite story of mine which illustrates how you can get new insight into problems by saying things a little bit differently.

The story has to do with two Catholic fathers, a Dominican and a Benedictine, who were in great turmoil because, though both were very much addicted to smoking, they had to spend so many hours a day in the course of their devotions that they didn't have enough time left to enjoy their nicotine.

So they engaged one another in an extensive theological discussion about whether or not, in the light of Catholic theology, it was appropriate to smoke while they were in the course of their devotions. Unable to settle this between themselves, they decided to write to the Pope.

About six weeks later, they happened to encounter one another and the Benedictine said to the Dominican, "Well, did you write to the Pope?" "Yes." "What did he say?" "He said, No." "Really? What did you write to him?" "Well, of course I wrote and asked if it was all right for me to smoke while I was praying and he said, No." "Oh," said the Benedictine, "You didn't write and ask him the right thing. I wrote and asked if it was all right for me to pray while I was smoking and he said, Yes."

In the same way, I believe we can get some insight at the present time into the subject of freedom of speech by looking at it from the other end. Instead of looking at the speaker, let us look at the problem of the listener. Let us speak not of the man who wants to express himself, but of you and me who may not want to listen to him.

I believe that one of the major confusions that underlies the turmoil and the disruptions on the campus is the belief that the freedom to speak means the right to have an audience, the right to make someone listen.

Freedom to speak must not abridge the freedom to listen—or not to listen. If each person who speaks has a right to an audience, that means that each man can deny someone else the right to an audience. Your freedom to listen to me is inconsistent with your listening to anybody else at the same time. We are all acquainted in physics with the law of conservation of energy. In speech, its counterpart is the law of conservation of listening.

There are many trivial examples of the kind of confusion I have in mind. One is the widespread tendency to import bullhorns on campuses. That is one product of modern technology that I and many of my fellows could do without.

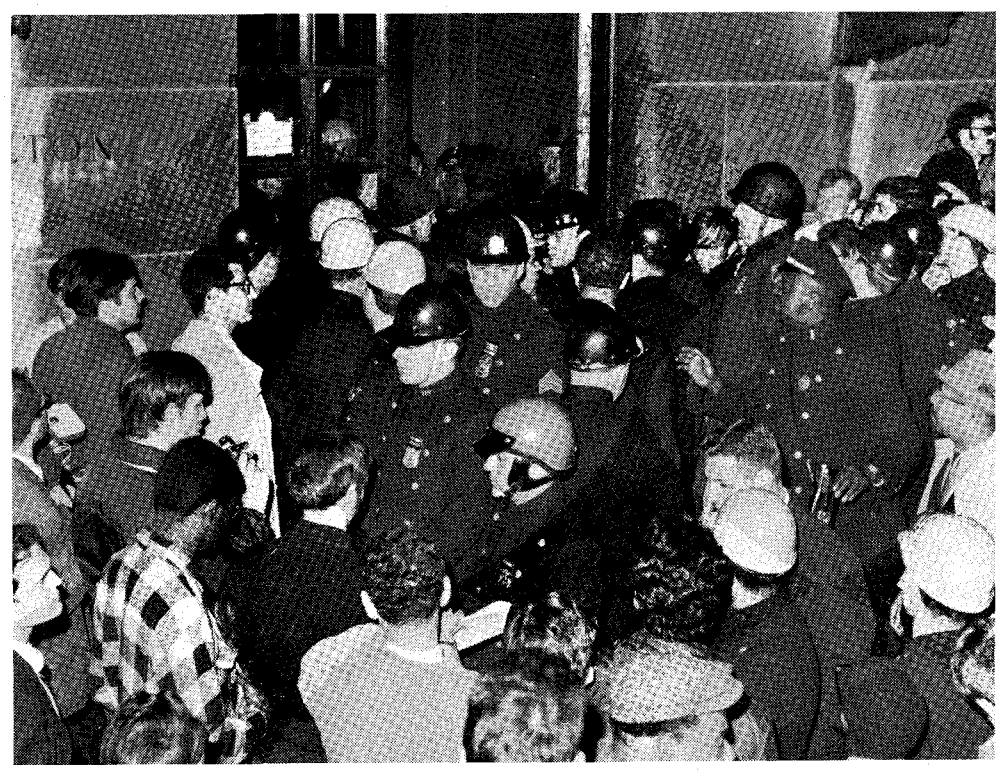
Consider the man who comes on the campus to talk and insists on talking through a bullhorn that penetrates every building within "earsight." He is exercising, you may say, his freedom to speak, but he is interfering with the freedom of other people to decide whether they want to listen to him. They must willy-nilly listen to him.

Another more recent example. According to the papers just the other day, a group of Stanford students—at least they were registered at Stanford though they probably weren't students—held up traffic on the roads going past Stanford, put up a barricade and stopped cars, and insisted that the people in the cars should listen to their arguments about what was wrong with Stanford. This was an obvious violation of the right of the people in the cars to listen.

You will think of many more colorful examples than these that illustrate how important, how basic, in the disturbances on campus has been the assumption that the freedom to speak should take precedence over the freedom of other people to listen. The great complaint of those who have taken over buildings is not that they aren't permitted to speak, but that they aren't given the power and the right to corral an audience to hear what they have to say.

In examining this problem, it is important to look at it in the context of a freedom more broadly conceived.

Freedom of speech does not stand by itself. It is part of our heritage and of our tradition of a belief in freedom



Perhaps one of the constructive by-products of the current campus rebellion is an increased public awareness of the true value of freedom of speech.

Dr. Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago is one of the nation's leading libertarian economists.

in general. We believe that men should be free from coercion by their fellow men, that insofar as they engage in joint action, it shall be through their voluntary free will and not because they are forced to.

Freedom requires limitation, because one man's freedom must be limited to the extent necessary to preserve other men's freedom. As a Supreme Court justice once said—I'm not sure these days I am doing right to quote a Supreme Court justice, but I trust the aberration is temporary—"Your freedom to move your fist ends at the point where my nose begins." And I may say that I have a very long nose. So freedom to speak ends when it interferes with other people's freedom to listen—or not listen.

Freedom to speak means freedom to try to persuade other people to listen to you if you have something to say, or to try to make them think you have something to say. It does not stand by itself. It is part of a much broader tradition.

As an economist, I naturally think in terms of its economic analog. I think it helps us understand the role of freedom of speech if we think of its counterpart in economics. The counterpart of freedom of speech in economics is the freedom to compete, the freedom to produce something and to try to persuade somebody to buy it.

The freedom to compete does not mean the right to have customers. It does not mean that anybody who wants to is entitled to make you buy from them. Indeed, the two are completely inconsistent. Compulsory customers is the opposite of freedom of competition, of freedom to produce.

There is no difference in the marketplace of ideas. Freedom of speech is simply freedom of competition in the world of ideas, in the world of thought. It is the right to offer your wares in the market place of ideas, and to try to attract customers to it. It is not the right to hit anybody over the head to make them be your customers.

Freedom to compete in the marketplace for goods does not mean that I have the right to enter your house, to put my wares before you. If I am an energetic salesman, I may knock at your door and try to get you to listen to me. I may ask you whether you will invite me in and see what it is I have to sell. But no one would argue that my freedom to sell, my freedom to compete, includes my freedom to break down your door

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and to say to you, "You listen to me or else."

This is equally true in the marketplace of ideas. I have the right to offer my ideas to whoever wants to listen. I have no right to enter a person's house and force him to listen to my ideas. I have no right to stop a car on the highway and say, "You must listen to me." I have no right to take over a building and say that building shall be occupied by me until you listen to me. And typically—to bring in another current confusion—those who occupy the building mean not until you listen to me, but until you are persuaded.

The freedom to listen means the freedom to reject what you are told as well as to accept what you are told, just as economic freedom means the freedom to buy or to refuse to buy.

Freedom of speech means that I have a right to hire a hall and see if I can persuade anybody to come. The right to hire a hall, the right to put yourself up for people to listen to you, is no mean right. If you consider the episodes that have been going on in the Soviet Union over the past several years, you will see that this is no mean right.

Let the small number of courageous protesters in the Soviet Union try to hire a hall. They will not find one for rent. Their constitution guarantees freedom of speech in words, but it is an empty guarantee when it is not accompanied by the dispersion of power which permits a person to hire a hall in which to talk and which protects him from losing his job if he says something that is not attractive to the people in power. Ask Sinayevsky and Daniel, and their more recent brave compatriots, as they languish in jail for taking the Soviet Constitution at its word.

Protection of the freedom to speak and the freedom to listen is provided by the dispersion of power which comes from the wide ownership of property, from the fact that there are many people from whom you can hire a hall. All these freedoms are a bundle. The freedom to listen is as absent in totalitarian countries as the freedom to speak.

We may ask what in our society is the role of freedom of speech and the freedom to listen. In general, as is made clear in the economic example, a major reason for the freedom of speech is the hope that the fittest will survive, the hope that if many men build mousetraps, it will be the best mousetrap that is finally accepted by the people, the hope that if many people can speak and say many diverse things, it will turn out that in the marketplace of ideas it will be the fittest ideas that will survive. This is part of the basis and the reason for freedom of speech.

But there is a more fundamental reason, I believe, that justifies freedom in all these areas. Such freedoms really derive from a proper sense of humility. How can I let people be free to speak if I know the truth? Can I let people be free to speak error? Not if I know for certain it is error. But if I am human, I cannot know for certain. How can I be so arrogant as to suppose that I and I alone, or those who agree with me, have the truth?

In my opinion, the fundamental ground on which we must defend freedom of speech is precisely the ground that we have no right to force our ideas on the other people except as we can persuade them, because there is no way in which an imperfect human being can know that he is right.

What bothers me most about the young people I see adopting tactics of force and coercion is that they are adopting methods of a kind that will never enable them to find out whether they are right or wrong. To the youngsters on our campus who have been engaging in

Soviet authors Sinayevsky and Daniel, shown here on trial in Moscow, might have some interesting comments on free speech in Russia.

disruptive actions, as they did when they seized and occupied a building, I say, "Are you certain that you are right?" When you say it in that way, of course, nobody really is. Or only very few.

Only the fanatics, only the mentally unbalanced will believe for certain that they know the answer, that they have the final truth. If I say to them, "Do you really believe that you have the final truth? Are you certain that you know how to run the university? Are you certain that this measure you propose to us will, in fact, improve the university instead of making it worse?" almost all of them, because most young people are honest and not inclined to distort their beliefs, almost all of them will say, "No, I do not know for certain. I'm pretty sure this is right."

Very well, then if we decide these issues by confrontation and force, how do we assure that if we try this out and it doesn't work, it can be abandoned? How do we assure the opportunity for experimentation if matters of this kind are going to be determined by force and violence? What is the possibility for change? I profoundly believe that the fundamental basis for a belief in the freedom of speech and the freedom to listen is humility. This is the basis for all our freedoms. Can you let men be free to sin if you really know what sin is? We don't *really* know what sin is. If we think it is sin and he does not, by what right do we put our judgment above his?

Humility says to us, "You must always keep in the back of your mind the idea, maybe only a tiny idea, that perhaps you may be wrong." In the words of Oliver Cromwell when he once spoke to an enemy, he said, "By the bowels of Christ, I beseech you, bethink you that you may be mistaken." And it is that element, the idea that all of us know we *could* be mistaken, even though of course we know we *are* not, which is the fundamental reason we must support and foster the freedom to speak, the freedom to listen, the freedom to compete, and freedoms in as many spheres of our lives as possible.

Fundamentally, there are only two ways in which men can live together. They can either do so voluntarily or they can do so through compulsion. Freedom is the only alternative to coercion.

As I look at the young people of this country and at the turmoil that is marring many campuses, I think there are many hopeful signs. What we have seen is in large measure a reaction against an orthodox view that stresses the role of the state, that stresses collective action, that stresses control of some people by others.

The drive for participatory democracy is to be wholly welcomed because it is a move in the direction of a greater role of each individual in deciding his own fate. It is the reaction on the part of the young against regimentation, against institutionalization, in favor of decentralization—all of this is wholly to be approved and to be desired.

But if these tendencies to react against centralization and control are to be healthy, if they are not to lead to a worse evil than they are intended to avoid, it is essential that we not substitute one form of control for another.

Participatory democracy properly understood does not mean that one group can force another group to participate. It does not mean that a majority rules in the sense of determining what somebody else does. It does not mean that a complicated society can be run by mass meetings, or by referendum.

Participatory democracy means a world of freedom in which each person participates with his fellows insofar as he wishes to. It means that people must be free to listen as well as to speak—but to refrain from listening or speaking; they must be free to participate—but also not to participate. The free society has room for both the hermit and the hail fellow well met.

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Westbrook Pegler: 1894-1969

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

The last time I saw Peg was maybe three or four years ago, at his "Casa Cholla" out on West Magee Road a couple of miles from Tucson. I remember little of that afternoon, except that the conversation was vintage Pegler; he sipped at his old animosities, inhaling them like brandy. The New Dealers were dead—Bubblehead, Old Weenie, Moosejaw and the Widow, La Boca Grande—and he had survived them all. We drank to that.

Now Westbrook Pegler is dead at 74, and I venture an affectionate "30" for the last of the great newspaper writers. At his best, Peg ranked with Henry Mencken as a stylist. He had none of Mencken's erudition, but he gloried in the same shellelagh and bung-starter brawls. Like Mencken, he made some colossal misjudgments, and he made them colosally. Nothing about Pegler was small.

Dr. Johnson once paid a fine tribute to that eminent Tory, Lord Bathurst. The first earl, he said, "was a man to my very heart's content: He hated a fool, and he hated a rogue, and he hated a whig; he was a very good hater."

Pegler was all of this. Once he put that vast belly against a portable typewriter, he was an absolutely even tempered man: He stayed mad. He turned his fury on union bosses, hypocrites in public office, and liberals of high and low degree. It was said that in his final years he turned to anti-semitism, but he denied it and the charge was too selective anyhow. Peg was anti-everything—or so it often seemed.

His sense of pure integrity made odd demands upon him. He would resent the comparison, but he shared something of Ernest Hemingway in this regard. Hemingway kept having to prove something to himself. So did Peg, in terms of his friends. At one time or another in his life, he broke with Heywood Broun, Gene Tunney, Roy Howard, Quentin Reynolds. It was as if friendship threatened his virtue. He feared seduction and distrusted intimacy. Except for Julie and Maude, whom he loved deeply, his passions were mostly abstract—for justice, honesty, flag and country.

This makes him sound formidably ferocious. In a sense, he was. He stood six feet tall, and in his prime weighed well over 200 pounds. He had a great florid face, marked by the shaggiest eyebrows west of John L. Lewis, and when he came dripping from the pool that afternoon at "Casa Cholla," it was like Poseidon rising from the deep. So far as I know, he was an utterly fearless man.

Although the late Westbrook Pegler made many enemies, few questioned his journalistic ability or his brilliant use of words.

Yet much of this was sham. Away from that typewriter, he was shy, sensitive, gentle and generous. When he swore, he swore in manly oaths, but he shunned obscenity and smut. He never wrote an off-color line. In the public prints, he could be rough on women; he loathed Eleanor Roosevelt and loved to lampoon "My Day." Privately, he was as chivalrous as any knight who ever served the table round.

Perhaps that is the image in which he saw himself. In one of his last columns, he described himself as a "tireless crusader." In the newspaper business we knew him as a legman, a reporter, a gruff voice on the telephone saying, "Could you help me with a couple of facts I need?"

Mostly we knew him as writer, polemicist, master of the churlish phrase. Harold Ickes was the house dick of the New Deal. Henry Luce was China boy. A. A. Berle Jr. was a bloodthirsty bull twirp. He slaughtered Henry Wallace as "Bubblehead," and exposed Wallace's "Riverside guru."

He once assailed J. Edgar Hoover as a nightclub fly-cop. (Hoover responded by remarking that Peg had mental halitosis.) Frank Sinatra was a ratty bum, Justice Frankfurter was Old Weenie, the blind umpire. Clifton Fadiman was the bull butterfly of literary teas.

This was name-calling. Peg's stuff was more. He wrote like a man fighting hornets, thrashing through a buzzing swarm of words. But somehow his convoluted sentences held together, and great phrases came forth. He was a sports writer in the '20s, "the era of wonderful nonsense." Mrs. Thomas Lamont ruled her family "with a whim of iron." Even in his most casual letters, he had the marvelous touch.

Now he's gone, and in the world of serious writing he leaves no lasting monuments to mark his truculent crusades. His memorial lies in the heart of every crusty city editor who ever smiled over a piece of glorious copy. And one day such a city editor, seizing happily upon a story by some unborn reporter, will cry with unexpected joy. "My God," he will say, "he writes like Peg."

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Increasing Vocational Education Cheaper Than Prisons or Welfare

By ALICE WIDENER

If ever there was a sorely needed book without a single word of bunk or double-talk, it is *Alternative to a Decadent Society* by Gov. James A. Rhodes of Ohio. Buy it and read it! The governor probes our domestic problems from every angle, sees what are our real troubles, and proposes practical measures for correcting our biggest problem, a public school system irrelevant to most young people's real needs.

That system is propelling thousands upon thousands of our youth into the social and economic catastrophe of unemployment and life on welfare. The system is based, says the governor, "on an odd set of values" that sets arbitrary, snobbish value on the study of one subject in school as against another, favoring academic subjects over job-training ones. Thus the system is creating a decadent society. "It does not honor the right of the student to be different," he writes, "and it does not capitalize on his motivation to help him on the pathway to membership in the adult world of production."

In that world, 90 per cent of all jobs are in business, commerce, industry and agri-business. Only a small percentage require a college education; almost all require a specialized skill. Based on training for a college degree, the system, says Gov. Rhodes, "is out of step with the needs of the people for jobs and the need of jobs for people."

In Ohio alone, June 1968, 100,000 untrained and unskilled young men and women were dumped into the labor market. The governor says that neither Ohio nor any other state can hope to absorb such a shock to its social and economic system. Gov. Rhodes believes that unless our young people are trained in school to acquire skills making them productive, it will be necessary to "fight them in the streets."

Actually, our system of lower education today is in a plight similar to that of higher education in the middle of the 19th Century. Just as Abraham Lincoln reformed higher education in America in 1862 by signing the College Land-Grant Act and thus widening the scope of that education and making it much more democratic, so Gov. Rhodes wants to widen the scope of lower education (elementary and secondary schools) and make it much more democratic.

Few Americans today are aware that when Lincoln signed the College Land-Grant Act, July 2, 1862, he freed many more slaves than when he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. By his education act, Lincoln freed all young Americans wanting a higher education from the then-prevailing notion that the only subjects fit for it were Latin, Greek and Hebrew as preparation for the less than 2 per cent of males wanting to become doctors, lawyers and clergymen.

When the land-grant colleges were established, snobbish academicians called them "poor boy" and "cow" colleges. Today we know that the young people who studied agriculture, science, engineering and business therein, created a major part of our present national abundance. For example, our great Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a fountainhead of science, is a land grant college.

What about the cost of widening our public school system to include vocational/technical schools of equal status with academic ones? "Do you have any idea," Gov. Rhodes asks the reader, "what it costs to keep a person in prison or on welfare?"

The governor wants all boys and girls to have a chance at an early age to acquire basic training for special skill. Unless we furnish our youth with vocational/technical education, Gov. Rhodes says, we shall prove to have been blind to the facts of social and economic need. He proposes that we wake up, see the real situation, and correct it. That is his wise alternative to a decadent society.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Fiscal Year Change

By REP. ODIN LANGEN (R.-Minn.)

It is time for the whole Congress to ecognize that our present fiscal year s an obstacle to good overnment and public velfare. By having the iscal year begin on the irst of July, we are aising the over-all level of governmental spending, depriving the underprivileged and the poor of effective and efficient rograms, delaying cooperative federal rograms by as much as a year and asting a certain doubt on the credibility of governmental statistics.

I strongly urge immediate consideration of my proposal [H.R. 10573] for the alendar fiscal year, which would cure hese present deficiencies. Although hange of a long-established custom is difficult to achieve in government, my roposal would not cause hardship on ny governmental body or agency and would, on the contrary, alleviate or even radicate difficulties and hardships now uffered by both government and the ublic. Early passage of this proposal would greatly facilitate the minor technical changes needed for the government and the public to adapt to the calendar fiscal year.

It has been a long-recognized fact hat appropriations bills are seldom finalized by the first of July, which is the present legal beginning of the fiscal year. The Congress has, by a continuing resolution each year, authorized each program to continue spending at a level which would not exceed the lower of either the budget or the previous year's appropriations.

Once a department or agency has begun spending money at this artificial level, it would experience difficulties in readjusting to a substantial decrease in appropriations from the artificial level set by the continuing resolution. Naturally "Parkinson's Law" would take care of any increase and the additional money would be spent—even if not wisely or efficiently. In either case tax dollars would be wasted in inefficient spending caused by inadequate or no advance planning. Efficient administration is clearly the key to seeing that every dollar spent on social programs will benefit the poor and the underprivileged to the greatest degree possible rather than being lost in cumbersome bureaucracy due to lack of direction.

Those Starving Indians

By REP. H. R. GROSS (R.-Iowa)

In India a Hindu spiritual leader, Lakshman Chairanya Maharja, has announced that later this year he will destroy more than 9,000 tons of food, costing $16 million, in a sacrificial fire to "foster universal peace and the welfare and prosperity of the human race." Last year he staged a similar "grand sacrifice" that cost $532,800 worth of food. In recent years the United States government has extracted several billion dollars from its taxpayers and pumped them into India for military and economic assistance. In addition, hundreds of thousands of tons of wheat and other food products have been given to India or "sold" for rupees which, by agreement, cannot be taken out of the country and therefore the "sales" were in fact a gift. How can U.S. government officials maintain a straight face and call on beleaguered taxpayers to help those who not only will not help themselves, but figuratively slap in the face those who are trying to save them from starvation?

House Votes Surtax Bill, 210-205

Following is the 210-to-205 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on June 30 approved the Administration's request to extend the 10 per cent income surtax for six months, after which the rate drops to 5 per cent for an additional six months.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 56

Albert
Alexander
Annunzio
Ashley
Aspinall
Boggs
Bolling
Brooks
Burke (Mass.)
Burleson (Tex.)
Cabell
Casey
Colmer
Daddario
Dawson
de la Garza
Dorn
Downing
Fallon
Fascell
Fisher
Foley
Friedel
Hamilton
Jones (Ala.)
Kluczynski
Mahon
Mann
Marsh
Mills
Monagan
Moorhead
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N. Y.)
Patman
Pepper
Pickle
Pike
Poage
Preyer
Pryor
Purcell
Rivers
Rogers (Fla.)
Ronan
Rooney (Pa.)
Rostenkowski
Satterfield
Sikes
Steed
Stratton
Teague (Tex.)
Udall
Watts
Wright
Young

Belcher
Bell (Calif.)
Berry
Betts
Biester
Blackburn
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Broyhill (N. C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Camp
Carter
Cederberg
Clausen, Don
Cleveland
Collier
Collins
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Coughlin
Cramer
Cunningham
Davis (Wis.)
Dellenback
Denney
Dennis
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Duncan
Dwyer
Edwards (Ala.)
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Fish
Ford, Gerald
Frelinghuysen
Frey
Goldwater
Grover
Gubser
Gude
Hall
Halpern
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harsha
Harvey
Hastings
Heckler (Mass.)
Hogan
Hosmer
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Keith
King
Kleppe
Kuykendall
Landgrebe
Langen
Latta
Lloyd

Lukens
McClory
McCloskey
McClure
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
McEwen
McKneally
MacGregor
Mailliard
Martin
Mathias
May
Mayne
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Mize
Mizell
Morse
Morton
Mosher
Myers
Nelsen
Pelly
Pettis
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quie
Quillen
Railsback
Reid (Ill.)
Reid (N. Y.)
Reifel
Rhodes
Robison
Roth
Ruppe
Ruth
Sandman
Schneebeli
Schwengel
Sebelius
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (N. Y.)
Springer
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Ariz.)
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalen
Whalley
Whitehurst
Widnall
Wiggins
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wold
Wyatt
Wylie
Wyman

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Arends
Ayres
Beall (Md.)

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 179

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Addabbo
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Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Baring
Barrett
Bennett
Bevill
Biaggi
Bingham
Blanton
Blatnik
Boland
Brademas
Brasco
Brinkley
Brown (Calif.)
Burlison (Mo.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Caffery
Carey
Celler
Chappell
Chisholm
Clark
Clay
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daniel
Daniels (N. J.)
Davis (Ga.)
Delaney
Dent
Diggs
Dingell
Donohue
Dowdy
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edmondson
Edwards (Calif.)
Edwards (La.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Farbstein
Feighan
Flood
Flowers
Flynt
Ford, William
Fountain
Fraser
Fulton (Tenn.)
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Garmatz
Gaydos
Gettys
Giaimo
Gibbons
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffin
Griffiths
Hagan
Haley
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Henderson
Hicks
Holifield
Howard
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jacobs
Jarman
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Jones (N. C.)
Jones (Tenn.)
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Koch
Kyros
Landrum
Leggett
Long (La.)
Long (Md.)
Lowenstein
McCarthy
McFall
McMillan
Macdonald
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Melcher
Mikva
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Mink
Mollohan
Montgomery
Morgan
Moss
Natcher
Nedzi
Nichols
Nix
Obey
O'Hara
Olsen
O'Neal (Ga.)
Ottinger
Passman
Patten
Perkins
Philbin
Podell
Price (Ill.)
Pucinski
Randall
Rarick
Rees
Reuss
Roberts
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Rooney (N. Y.)
Rosenthal
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Stokes
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Sullivan
Symington
Taylor
Tiernan
Tunney
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waggonner
Waldie
White
Whitten
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Yates
Yatron
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 26

Adair
Andrews (N. D.)
Ashbrook
Burke (Fla.)
Button
Clancy
Cowger
Foreman
Fulton (Pa.)
Gross
Horton
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Meskill
Michel
Riegle
Roudebush
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scott
Snyder
Weicker
Wydler
Zion
Zwach

NOT VOTING: 17
VACANCIES: 2

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The **Safeguard anti-ballistic missile program** has finally emerged from committee, with the Senate Armed Services Committee approving initial deployment of the controversial system by an unusually slim 10-to-7 margin. Debate will begin soon on the Senate floor, with a vote now expected sometime in late July: The House has vowed not to take up the ABM matter until the Senate makes its decision. The latest United Press International poll shows 48 senators favoring the ABM, 48 opposed and four solons as yet undecided.

• **The 10 per cent income tax surcharge** was extended for another year by the House last week, with the squeaker 210-to-205 vote coming on the day the tax was due to expire. The surcharge was originally proposed by LBJ and passed by Congress with the understanding it would last for only one year. The House-passed extension will continue the surcharge at 10 per cent until next January, with a reduction to 5 per cent from then until June 30, 1970. The House bill would also repeal the 7 per cent investment tax credit for business and remove some 2.1 million "poverty level" families from income tax obligations. The Senate must still act on the measure, and it is expected that broader tax reforms, a major point of contention in the House, will be added in the upper chamber. Meanwhile, the surcharge is still to be extracted from your paycheck under emergency stopgap legislation; if the extension is finally defeated, you will get the money back next April.

• The House Education and Labor Committee has failed in its effort to write "compromise" legislation aimed at **curtailing campus disturbances**. The proposed bill (HR 11941), which now returns to subcommittee to die, would have cut off federal aid to colleges which failed to file with the U.S. commissioner of education their plans for dealing with future campus disorders. Liberals and some conservatives on the committee objected that this represented too great a federal incursion onto the campus, while others felt the bill was really no threat at all and in fact was rather weak. It is now most likely that some form of anti-campus-riot bill will be added as a rider amendment to other legislation on the House floor.

• Although the Senate Agriculture Committee has narrowly (7 to 5) voted not to recommend giving **free food stamps** to families earning less than $40 per month, the measure stands a good chance of being approved on the Senate floor. Committee member George McGovern (D.-S.D.), who conducted a series of well-publicized "poverty hearings" earlier this year, has vowed to take the fight to the floor. In the committee liberal McGovern had the support of such conservatives as Herman Talmadge (D.-Ga.), James Allen (D.-Ala.) and Robert Dole (R.-Kans.).

• A House-Senate conference committee is now working out the differences between conflicting bills passed in each chamber placing a **limit on the Administration's fiscal 1970 spending**. The House measure would limit President Nixon to expenditures of $192.9 billion, the exact figure of the fiscal '70 budget proposed by the White House. The Senate, however, lowered the spending ceiling to $187.9 billion, although it did, unlike the House, contain several exceptions, such as Viet Nam war costs, national debt interest and welfare payments (see page 6).

• Sen. Edward Kennedy (D.-Mass., in case you didn't know) has found yet another cause to champion: To restore the $9 million the House Science and Astronautics Committee cut from the **National Science Foundation's fiscal 1970 budget**. Kennedy has vowed to fight and boost the science agency's budget from its present $480 million to the $500 million it received two years ago. "Given the effects of inflation and the growing number of students, we are actually moving backward in our support of the sciences," Kennedy has declared.

• The Nixon Administration has put its position on **East-West trade** in the official record, with testimony by Assistant Secretary of Defense Warren Nutter before the House Banking and Currency Subcommittee on International Trade. Arguing for extension of the Export Control Act (PL 89-63), which restricts trade of strategic goods to Communist nations, Nutter said, "we surely do not want to strengthen the military power of those countries that have proclaimed their hostile intentions toward us."

• The Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee has begun hearings on a bill (S 2218) to **extend the basic federal aid to elementary and secondary education facilities** for four more years, through fiscal 1974. The House has already passed its version of the extension (HR 514), but it is only for two years. The Administration, through HEW Secretary Robert Finch, has endorsed the House two-year extension and promised that it will undertake a thorough review of aid-to-education programs and come up with new proposals by mid-1972.

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How this book got its offbeat title — as told by Aloise herself...

Did I *really* tell Timothy that Tommy Major's mother was going to Hell because she voted for Johnson? No, I did not. Once and for all.

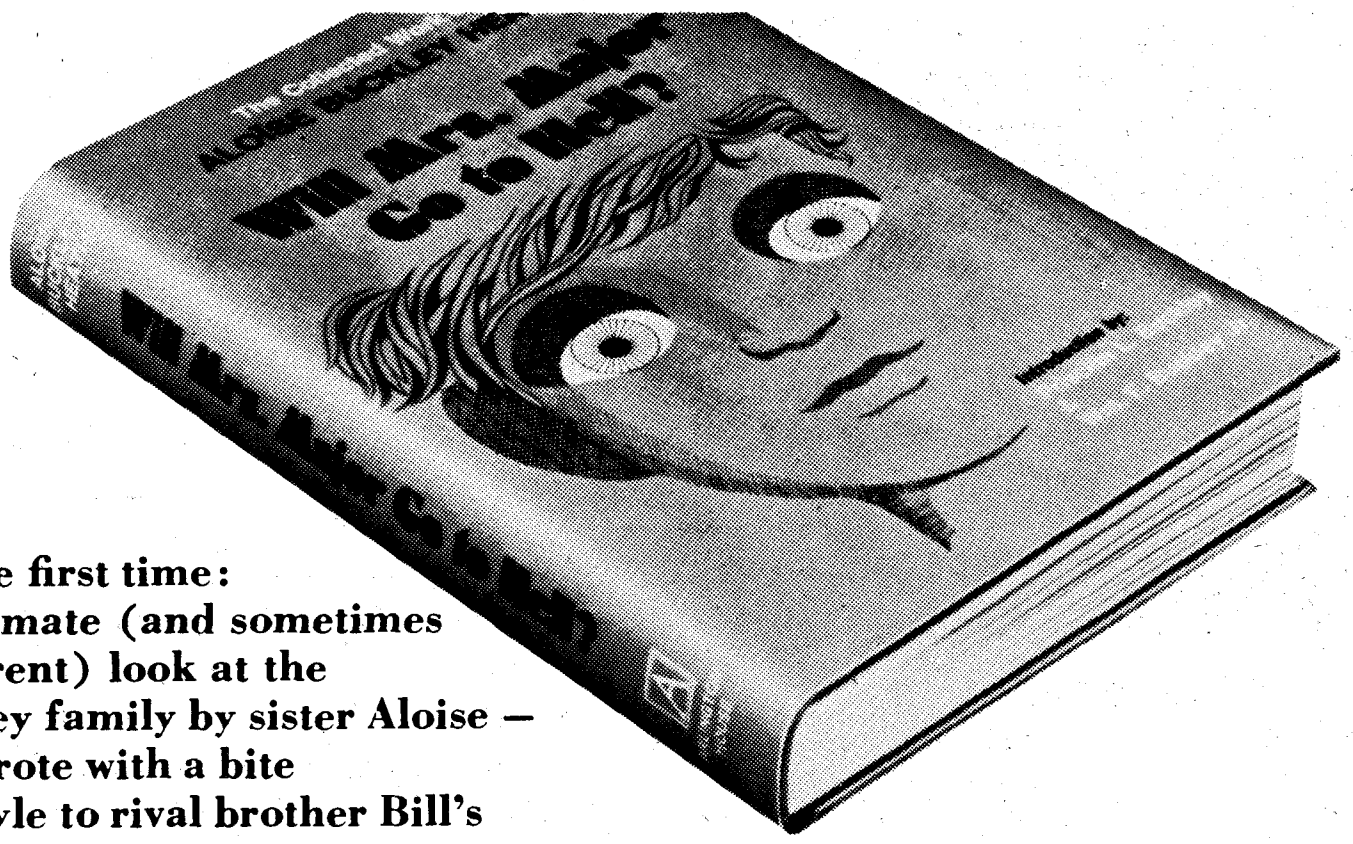
What happened was this. One day Timothy said: "Would you go to Hell if you voted for Johnson?"

I said: "Do you mean me or do you mean people? If you mean me, the answer is yes because I'm an educated voter and I'd be committing a mortal sin if I voted for him. If you mean 'people,' no, because they are not as smart as your dear, dear mother, you lucky boy." Tim looked at me gravely. "Will Tommy's mother go to Hell? She's going to vote for Johnson."

"Oh, I don't think so, Tim," I said, not terribly interested in the whole subject. "She doesn't know enough to know what she's voting for. But wouldn't she be surprised if she *did* go to Hell!"

It was then that I made my big mistake. You remember those lovely warm days last fall. Well, they affect me very badly. They increase my euphoria to the point of mania. I was near the piano while I talked to Tim and I sat down and played and sang, *"Tommy's mother went to Hell/On the Donkey ticket/Now she knows a Johnson vote/Is very, very wicked."* Timothy thought it was charming and rushed out to collect his friends Brian and Billy to hear it. Billy called in his sister Beth who was playing with Pammy Shepherd from the next street over. In about ten minutes there were over a dozen children in the house bawling out at the top of their lungs the news that *"Tommy's mother went to Hell."* And what was I doing? Big fat fool that I am. I was sitting there at the piano bawling it out with them and playing different versions of the piano accompaniment and setting up duets and interesting arrangements and in general behaving not at all like a woman whose living room windows face onto the Major driveway. And that's absolutely all there is to it.

I don't blame her for thinking it was a rehearsal. I don't even blame the children for telephoning her the next few days and nights to sing it. I drummed it into their heads so hard they probably still can't think of another tune. And that I swear is the whole story. It is absolutely what happened. And don't believe any other version.



For the first time: an intimate (and sometimes irreverent) look at the Buckley family by sister Aloise — who wrote with a bite and style to rival brother Bill's

WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?

by Aloise Buckley Heath

— with a long, haunting, loving Introduction by Priscilla L. Buckley and William F. Buckley, Jr.
A Selection of the Conservative Book Club.

Aloise Buckley Heath might well have won the acclaim she deserved: as a major American humorist. In this collection of her writing — some published, some appearing for the first time in print, some from the book privately printed as a tribute to her late father — her genius and her gay spirit shine brilliantly to cheer a weary land and to remind us, when we need it most, that life in America can be good, and fun.

She tells us about her father, William F. Buckley, Sr., and how he enforced his simple theory about raising children: "that they become absolutely perfect." She tells about brother Billy who, at age six, wrote to George V demanding that England pay her war debt . . . and about brother Reid who, a generation ahead of his time, sported heavy sideburns.

She tells about her childhood at the family estate in Connecticut and in the capitals of Europe . . . makes real for us the bedrock role of religion in the family's life . . . gives us a warm, close-up view of the Buckley brothers and sisters during the "getting married" years. Laughing all the way, she chronicles brother Bill's rise to fame from his early years at Yale through the first decade of *National Review*. Aloise is always a warm storyteller; at her best she is hilarious.

Aloise died suddenly, tragically, in 1967. This book celebrates her exuberant spirit. Reading it is pure joy. An intimate visit with two wonderful families, at a time when squalor passes for entertainment, here is a book about American family life that is funny, and *inspiring*. The kind of book to remind us that America has more to offer than the present Dark Age.

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